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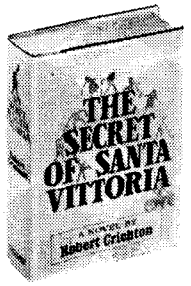

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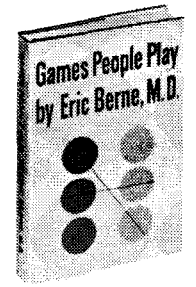

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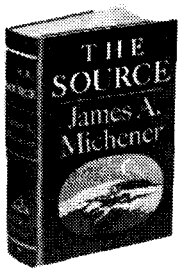

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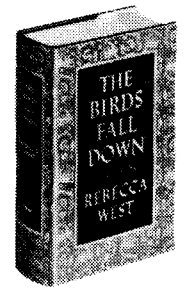

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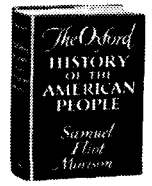

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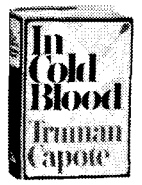

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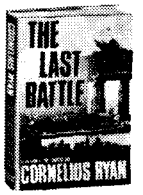

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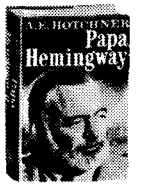

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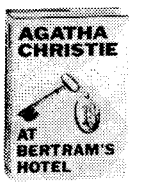

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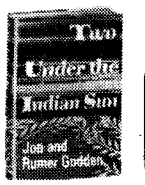

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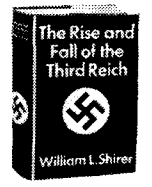

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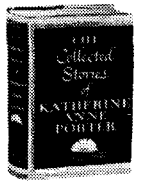

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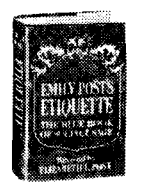

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Portrait of a Primitive

★ Senator Karl Mundt (R, S.D.) is a roly-poly primitive who is still fighting a holy war. Holy wars are fine while the blood boils but they are apt to be embarrassing at the end because in modern times as like as not your erstwhile unspeakable antagonist who murders men and rapes women becomes your favorite ally. (Look at Japan or Germany.) Then you are off on another holy war. Intellectuals and sophisticates are resilient and find it easy to bounce from one batch of heroes and villains to another and from one feeling of outrage to the next, but a heavy-footed man like Mundt lags behind; he doesn't get the signals; he has been taught that communism is all alike everywhere, that a communist is under his bed, and that this helps get him elected if he makes loud cries about it, as he did when he was McCarthy's last supporter.

Insincere? Hypocritical? Only in part. Mundt is also simple and logical. He knows how they feel back in Humboldt, South Dakota. And all during last week he sat on the Republican side of the elevated horseshoe of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, demanding in angry tones of the finely-honed intellectuals like George Kennan, Edwin O. Reischauer and Harrison E. Salisbury, why they wanted to "cozy up" to Moscow (as he put it) or to communist Hanoi? "They are killing American boys, aren't they?" he demanded. And every politician looked down at his desk and blanched because he knew his own constituents, and the efficacy of such a slogan, and of the nationwide tocsin that has been sounded by the *Liberty Lobby* and other kook outfits that are making senators' mail run 100-to-1 against the pending consular treaty with Russia.

The decisive battles of the world have one thing in common; the little town where they were fought and to whose name they gave immortality was picked accidentally. Waterloo, Gettysburg, it is always the same. And so the consular treaty, while insignificant in itself, may accidentally turn out to be one of the great legislative battles in postwar history. Forces are deploying on either side as this is written; battalions are hurrying up, generals to whom the nation genuflects are marshaling forces – Johnson, Eisenhower, Dirksen, J. Edgar Hoover. Mr. Johnson says he is trying to build bridges to the East, but laughable, lovable Everett Dirksen quips that he is not a bridge-builder. Mr. Dirksen is so amusing. The crowd in the galleries cranes and titters when he makes one of his droll speeches. He's against reapportionment? ho-ho-ho; he's for the prayer amendment? See how his locks dangle! He's destroying the 1966 civil rights bill? What a funny man he is!

Divided Republicans

★ Mr. Dirksen is also adroit and sure-footed and in the treaty fight he seems to be debating whether to venture out on risky ground. Of the six new Republican senators four (and it may be five) favor the treaty. Dirksen has taunted the Democrats in the past for being divided on foreign affairs; now his own party is divided. In his amusing way he explains that he is not for the treaty "as presently written." Simple enough; the US and Russia should renegotiate it! Some think that in the final test the wily Dirksen may yet lead his party to approval, and store up gratitude at the White House. All this has happened before.

The treaty has become a symbol beyond its own intrinsic importance. After all, consular offices can be opened now *without* any treaty. This agreement, however, requires Russia to notify us if they clap any vodka-happy tourist into jail, and in return we and Russia give the proposed consuls and their staffs diplomatic immunity. The great manito, J. Edgar Hoover, says this would increase his workload. He has said this in such a skillful way that he has not officially intervened in policy matters; he has technically retained his virginity; but everybody knows that he is warning the unwary against Soviet espionage. The kook outfits are quoting him against the treaty all over the nation.

The Big Picture

★ We might here pause and survey the world picture. The US has blundered into a jungle war, 10,000 miles off, costing $30 billion a year. We have tried to end it by bombing, in what Professor Reischauer calls a "major psychological blunder." But a piece of incredible and fortuitous good fortune has dropped into our lap; the doctrinaire fanatics in China have produced anarchy and broken with Moscow. The Kremlin obviously doesn't want to take on China and the USA together, and shows signs of seeking accommodation with the West.

Unobserved by most Americans, the President politely cold-shouldered Dr. Erhard and in a critical speech in New York, October 7, downgraded the German Federal Republic as he proffered better relations with Moscow. (What he implied was that German unity must wait on East-West reconciliation.)

Well, if you have followed us so far, you can see that it's quite a drama! Dr. Erhard promptly fell, and the dominoes are being rearranged all over Europe. The President is simultaneously trying to head off a catastrophic escalation of the arms race, and to increase East-West trade. Now the question is whether Congress will play along in a situation where 34 Senate votes can kill a treaty, and confound history.

Maybe we haven't sized it up right; maybe we have cut corners and confused issues. It has confused Senator Mundt, all right, and a lot of his friends. Are they primitives, or are they just logical?

President Johnson, meanwhile, has tried to mute his larger-than-life personality and adopt a quieter, and even humble, approach. It was first visible in his State of the Union address. The spectacle of Mr. Johnson playing a modest, underdog role awes Washington. Can he keep it up?

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Antidote to Boredom

American television, as any schoolboy knows, has not been the servant of the public, but of advertising and the networks and stations which carry it. All credit, then, to the Ford Foundation, which has persisted in believing that flowers could bloom in "the vast wasteland." It has to date given more than $100 million to ETV and has, most recently, pledged $10 million more for experimental programs. And on the heels of Ford's initiative, there has now come the report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television. A former member of the FCC calls it "top-notch," McGeorge Bundy of Ford says it's "first-class," James Reston writes that it might be "one of the transforming occasions in American life," and the Columbia Broadcasting System thinks well enough of it to promise $1 million as part of a $25 million private endowment that Commission Chairman James R. Killian Jr. says is needed to get public television off the ground.

Noncommercial television has been the stepchild of the communication industry. There are five commercial stations for each educational station today. And although the educational stations often produce more edifying programs than are seen on commercial channels, they can be just as boring, as the Carnegie report implies: "Undeniably it [ETV] is a vital system, and a growing system as well. Undeniably, too, it has grave deficiencies, not all of which are financial." But it does not accept these deficiencies as irreparable.

The report is less concerned with instructional television (whose future is discussed by David Walker elsewhere in this issue) than in "programs intended for the general viewer." To provide that viewer with something better and more interesting, the report proposes that a nonprofit, nongovernmental Corporation for Public Television be chartered by Congress, and that its operations be financed in large part by a federal tax on all new TV sets, beginning at two percent and rising to five percent. This money – combined with anticipated funds from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare plus local, state and philanthropic donations, would, the report believes, meet the needs that local ETV stations cannot meet on their own. The report envisages 380 noncommercial stations on the air as against the current 124. It expects that the Corporation would be insulated from political influence through having assured funds from year to year rather than depending upon congressional appropriations. Six of the Corporation's directors would be appointed by the President, with the concurrence of the Senate. They in turn would elect six more. All

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would serve six years. Obviously, the quality and daring of any such Corporation will depend in the first instance on the type of presidential appointees.

The Corporation would not only subsidize programming but would help stations "communicate with each other, and with the public." Throughout, the report emphasizes local enterprise, in the confidence that if the money and the opportunity are there, the talent will appear that can transform television into something more exciting, more personal, than it can be under a system designed to reach the largest possible audiences. The report speaks of "the desirability of maximizing excitement, experimentation, innovation and freedom for creativity in programming."

What will come of these recommendations? There is evidence they are going to be taken seriously. The White House is at work on a legislative proposal, and before long hearings will be held by the chairman of the Commerce Committee, Senator Magnuson, who last year announced his intention to have "an examination made of the entire educational television subject in the next Congress." Even if there were not this new stimulus, the Congress would be required to put its mind soon to the problem of noncommercial television, for the Educational Television Facilities Act which Congress passed five years ago expires this June 30. Under that act, 32 million federal dollars have been invested in ETV facilities. The Carnegie report urges that the act be renewed, and HEW is requesting $20 million for the program this year, but the report goes way beyond this minimal outlay for physical installations; it wants an entirely new national effort, to be coordinated by its proposed Corporation.

Financing has been the principal problem for local educational television stations, which from July 1965 to June 1966 expended $58,315,464. Of this amount, the federal government provided only 11.8 percent – about the same as that contributed by state universities and somewhat less than contributions from private foundations. But whether a sales tax on TV sets, as the Carnegie report recommends, is the most sensible and equitable way to finance an expansion and improvement of noncommercial television is debatable. One member of the commission, the president of the Reynolds Metals Company and former president of NBC, Joseph H. McConnell, says it is not. "I suggest," he states in his dissent, "that those who are licensed to use the airways in the 'public interest' – the television stations – should at least share in the cost of public television." That seems to us a reasonable requirement.

The Carnegie Commission anticipates that the operating expenses of the Corporation for Public Television ("when it reaches equilibrium, perhaps as much as 10 years from the time of its establishment") at $104 million annually, of which about $60 million would come from federal funds. That may prove an underestimation of what is required from the federal purse, and an overestimation of what will be forthcoming from other sources.

In one section of its report, the commission makes a point about television that for some reason is often missed. Educational television, it says, should produce a few great programs and repeat them many times: "freed from the necessity to attract maximum audiences at all times, public television would indeed be derelict if it attempted to pin its potential audience to a fixed schedule of commercial television. A first-rate play, made with extraordinary care at great expense, warrants at least three showings during the week – perhaps one or more on weekday evenings, another on Saturday night, and still another on Sunday afternoon." Why, in other words, should only the old movies be rerun?

Details of the Carnegie report are less important than its central thrust: the federal government should promptly authorize a national mechanism, and provide it funds, through which TV's benefits can reach all varieties of taste and need. TV's entertainment and instruction possibilities need no elaboration. For one thing, political campaign expenses being what they are, the availability throughout the country of noncommercial stations is bound to foster a livelier, wide-ranging political dialogue. For good or bad, "The Box" has become everyman's educator and entertainer. In 1948, there were 200,000 TV sets in American homes; in 1965, 2,646,000 color sets and 8,391,000 black and white sets were sold. We are currently purchasing TV sets at the rate of $2 billion annually. In a strictly financial, not social, sense it is a highly profitable business. CBS alone in 1965 took in over $1 million more in advertising revenue than did *Life*, *Time* and *Look* magazines combined.

If the report carries the political force which its authors hope for, it will be in part because the commission was shrewdly composed. There is someone for everyone on it – from the Republican editor of the *Houston Post*, to the president of the Texas broadcasting corporation which operates the Johnson family TV station, to the former president of Harvard and the current president of the California Institute of Technology, as well as the head of the Polaroid Corporation, a representative of the UAW, and a Negro novelist. If the President gives this project a mighty shove, and if the two key legislators, John Pastore of Rhode Island and Mr. Magnuson will take "the public interest, convenience and necessity" with great seriousness this year, a real breakthrough in communications can occur. TV has only seemed to be an incurable disease. The Carnegie Commission reminds us that it is a "miraculous instrument."

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Why Stay in Vietnam?

Two former ambassadors last week dropped the domino theory in the ash can of history, wrapped in a Chinese rug. With it went the fundamental, official justification of this country's Vietnam policy. The case for full-scale intervention has been that if we do not resist "communist aggression" inside Vietnam, it will proceed to swallow all Southeast Asia and much more. "The remaining countries of Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement," said President Eisenhower in 1959. President Johnson said last November in Korea that it was better for "400,000 of our young men, the flower of our manhood," to fight in Vietnam than to have to fight in Honolulu. That remark presupposed that the guerrillas our soldiers are fighting in Vietnam are only the cutting edge of communist Chinese hordes; nobody has seriously argued that Ho Chi Minh's ambitions extend beyond Vietnam.

Senator Fulbright opened Foreign Relations Committee hearings on January 30 by asking if it were really true "that the root cause of conflict in Southeast Asia is communist China's desire and ability to play in Asia the role the Soviets played in eastern Europe in the late 1940's." Fulbright's first witness, George Kennan, pooh-poohed China's ability to do any such thing. His second witness, Edwin O. Reischauer who is just back from Japan, was even more emphatic, saying: "The menace of Chinese domination – if ever it was a real menace in the military sense – is growing weaker." Senator Gore asked him about China's nuclear and missile progress. "China is going to go on being a very minor nuclear power for a very long time," Reischauer replied. "It is hard to see in a 20-year period, or even longer, the development of a military strength that will essentially challenge the Soviet Union, let alone the United States." He could have added that if China ever does develop delivery systems for nuclear weapons with aggressive intent, it won't be stopped by 400,000 Americans chasing guerrillas through Vietnam jungles.

Neither Kennan nor Reischauer has a neat formula for ending the fighting in Vietnam. Kennan doesn't expect the bombing of the North to achieve much, agrees with General Gavin that in the South the US troops should simply hold on to "enclaves" until Ho Chi Minh realizes they won't leave unless he compromises with non-communist elements in South Vietnam. Reischauer thinks the US has been on the wrong foot in Vietnam for more than 20 years, and elsewhere in Asia too, and that we ought to reduce to the minimum our military involvement and military commitments, primarily though not wholly "because our vital interests are not likely to be threatened in most of Asia." That is the key to the dilemma of our "commitment" in Vietnam. Senator Symington pointed out last August that, on a population basis, the American military presence in South Vietnam is the equivalent of having six million armed foreigners on US soil. And for what? In John Foster Dulles' day, when this country actually paid a larger share of the cost of France's war with Vietnam than the French themselves paid, the justification was that we had to prevent "the Soviets" grabbing Asia. "If the Soviet Union had control of the rice bowl of Asia," Dulles explained, "that would be another weapon which would tend to expand their control into India and into Japan." Now, it's no longer "the Soviets" we are saving all Asia from, including Honolulu; it's China. But China though more populous than Russia is not a fraction as powerful; it has a terrible quarrel on its hands with Russia as well as with us; and it has, besides, all the appearance of being in the throes of a civil war. Kennan and Reischauer both deny that a China so circumstanced is a threat to the security and vital interests of the United States. If they are right, then it is wrong to have 400,000 American troops in South Vietnam.

Selling Arms Abroad

"As we focus on nuclear arms, let us not forget that resources are being devoted to nonnuclear arms races all around the world," President Johnson said last year. He urged nations to stop competing for costly weapons that only result in "illusory prestige."

The statement must have been meant satirically, for the Defense Department has a special office of salesmen who do nothing but promote the sale of surplus weapons abroad. A recent report by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff suggests that because of the energetic work of its director, Deputy Assistant Secretary Henry J. Kuss, US arms sales have more than doubled since 1961, and now are running about $2-billion annually. Most of the weapons are sold to developed markets in Western Europe. This angers European manufacturers who find it hard to compete with the American suppliers and, as a result, the Europeans look further afield for markets in Africa, Latin America and South Asia. Until recently, for example, Latin Americans were satisfied with owning cast-off models of early US jet fighters. Now the French, Swedes and the British are tantalizing them with subsonic jets; the British offer supersonic fighters.

The bulk of the arms sales from the US are for cash. But the underdeveloped countries usually must have loans, guaranteed by the Defense Department, and arranged by the Export-Import Bank or through big commercial banks such as Chase Manhattan or Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. This in turn creates new prob-

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lems. Selling weapons in this way makes our foreign aid policies look especially foolish. There is no point in loaning money to some Latin country at three percent interest for economic development only to have Mr. Kuss' people palm off some new tank on the ruling junta for a loan costing 10 percent interest. This is a sure way to keep underdeveloped governments in hock and prevent any rational economic advance.

While the US has outwardly declared its intentions of holding down the arms race among underdeveloped countries, the Senate committee is not deceived for the rhetoric is sham. There are any number of ways to sell arms abroad. Private firms can sell direct to foreign governments; companies can work through US agencies; the transaction can be made from one government to another. Or a US manufacturer always can license a foreign firm to make his products. Thus, the F-86s Venezuela recently bought from West Germany were manufactured in Italy under a US licensing agreement. The F-86s West Germany sold Iran but which mysteriously seem actually to belong to Pakistan – despite US efforts to halt the flow of arms to Pakistan – were made in Canada under a US license.

Johnson on Pollution

In his air pollution message last week, the President asked Congress to give the government authority to establish national emission standards for industry and to set up regional commissions for controlling pollution. These suggestions could prove helpful, although if Mr. Johnson's past pronouncements on pollution are any guide, they are more likely to produce the illusion of accomplishment than remedial action.

The message was significant for what it did not say. It did not urge building electric vehicles nor controlling sulphur dioxide by regulating sulphur levels in fuels.

Two pollutants cause most of the harm. One is sulphur dioxide, given off by burning coal and residual fuel oil of electric generating plants, as well as in other industrial operations. Probably the simplest way to control sulphur dioxide gas would be for Congress to set a national standard for sulphur content for fuels used in the major urban areas and sold in interstate commerce. Such a law would bring howls from industry, but if the pollution problem is as serious as the President says it is, he should be willing to recommend the necessary steps now.

The other major pollution source is carbon monoxide, which comes largely from car exhaust. While there is some hope of holding the carbon monoxide levels down by requiring auto manufacturers to improve car exhaust systems, there is a growing argument, as our correspondent in California reports in the story that follows, that this won't do the job; new kinds of motors are needed for autos driven in congested urban areas. This has led to revived talk about the electric car. Until recently the auto companies viewed the electric car as a big joke. But after airplane, boat and electric appliance companies began taking an interest and offered some possibility of competition, Detroit switched signals and now speaks almost enthusiastically about electric vehicles.

Keeping the air clean will require radical innovations. The federal government has yet to show it is willing to support them.

California's Still Choking

Since the fall of 1965, California has required that new-model, American-made cars carry new exhaust control systems believed capable of reducing auto-induced air pollution by 70 percent. Nearly 1.2 million car buyers have paid an extra $50 for the systems. But by the beginning of this year, state tests had brought forth disturbing news: as the new cars put on more miles the systems emitted more contaminants. Experts were beginning to conclude that even if the controls ever did work, there would soon be so many cars on California highways that there would not be much less smog in the air in 1980 than today.

California's agriculture loses $132 million a year because of smog damage. In parts of the state, the production of lettuce, spinach and other leafy vegetables has virtually ceased. Chemists say the forests are beginning to show the bad effects of pollution. Los Angeles, with a metropolitan area of seven million persons, is the undisputed smog capital of the US. Yet, since 1954, its county air pollution control district has been an aggressive and near-model institution. Led by a stern ex-policeman named Louis Fuller, the agency has prosecuted more than 30,000 court cases for pollution violations, and won 95 percent of them. Its strict regulations have eliminated 90 percent of the smog that comes from industry and other stationary sources: backyard incinerators have been banned for years, the burning of fuel oils is closely regulated and starting this year, paints containing noxious solvents can't be sold.

But the agency is helpless to combat the source of 90 percent of the city's air pollution – the 3.5 million automobiles that spew fumes into the air as they wind about the hundreds of miles of clogged streets and freeways. These cars produce an estimated 1,860 tons of hydrocarbon emissions per day, combining with two other pollutants – oxides of nitrogen and carbon monoxide – to cover the area with a thick, brown, highly irritating haze. Smog officials, once hopeful of returning to the 1940 level of air pollution

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– 575 tons of hydrocarbon emissions per day – have all but given up this goal for the foreseeable future.

It was not until 1963 that the state put into effect laws on auto pollution. New cars were required to carry crankcase "blowby" devices – tubes that carry crankcase gases back into combustion chambers, aimed at reducing hydrocarbon contaminants by 25 percent. The state later required that used cars contain "blowby" devices when they are sold in the 14 of the state's 58 counties that maintain smog control districts. As a result, an estimated three-fourths of the state's nine million vehicles now carry "blowby" devices.

Then the state turned to the problem of the main source of contamination, the automobile exhaust, which produces about 65 percent of the hydrocarbons and all of the carbon monoxide discharged by an unequipped auto. The state certified several exhaust control systems and notified the auto industry that starting with 1966 models, new cars sold in California would have to carry effective exhaust controls. Detroit, mindful that 11 percent of the nation's new car buyers live in California, said it would comply – but with its own systems, which it promised would be effective.

As soon as the 1966 models came on the market, engineers of the state motor vehicle pollution control board started to test the effectiveness of the industry's systems, charting their controls against the state's legal standard for hydrocarbons (275 parts per million) and carbon monoxide (1.5 percent). In a year, the state tested 532 vehicles, and found that more than half (52 percent) failed to meet the standards for hydrocarbons and/or carbon monoxide; that of the 227 vehicles with less than 2,000 miles – those virtually off the assembly line – 37 percent failed to meet those standards; that there was a steady increase in percentage of failures as the vehicles accumulated mileage – 87 percent of those with more than 20,000 miles failed to meet standards – leading to the conclusion that at 50,000 miles, half the life of most cars, essentially all the devices would fall below standards; and that the new models emitted about 50 percent more oxides of nitrogen, another main contributor to smog.

Further data showed that of the three makes tested – General Motors, Ford and Chrysler – only one system maintained an average within the state standard in either category: GM's cars registered a hydrocarbon average of 258 ppm, but their carbon monoxide output was over the standard at 1.55 percent. Ford averaged 325 ppm hydrocarbons and 1.9 percent carbon monoxide and Chrysler 284 ppm hydrocarbons and 1.84 percent carbon monoxide.

The state board, which is cautious in its criticism of Detroit, warned the industry that "if the surveillance data continues to show this trend the board will be unable to approve exhaust emission control systems for use on vehicles in California for 1968. . ." – a nice way of threatening to ban the sale of 1968 cars.

Even should Detroit start turning out vehicles that conform to the state's anti-pollution standards, some California officials are coming to the conclusion that only more drastic action will make air breathable and life livable in the nation's largest state.

First, they point out that federal anti-pollution standards, due to go into effect with 1968 models, may eventually preempt tougher California standards. At present, California standards correspond closely with planned federal emission standards. But for 1970, California plans stricter standards – 180 ppm hydrocarbons and one percent carbon monoxide – and even this level is considered too high by some experts. If Detroit must meet only federal standards there is little prospect that California will draw any benefit.

Second, the state has found no way to control other sources of contamination from automobiles – oxides of nitrogen emissions and evaporation losses from the gasoline tank and carburetor – nor has it done anything about the approximately two million old cars without crankcase controls.

Third, and perhaps most significant, the rate in the growth of automobiles seems destined to match any but the most drastic anti-pollution efforts. In Los Angeles County, for example, there will probably be 5.5 million cars on the road by 1980 – two million more than there are now. Even if by then the average motor vehicle is miraculously producing half the pollution of today's average car, auto pollution will not be significantly less than it is now.

With this prospect in mind, the state's chief of environmental sanitation, Frank Stead, came out recently for a flat ban on gasoline-driven cars by 1980. The electric-powered car would seem to be an alternative – but the thought of big oil companies gamely closing up their gas stations in the spirit of public service is too much for most people's imaginations.

PHILIP HAGER

COMING: *Andrew Kopkind writes on predicting and manipulating the future of society*

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Reply to Professor Bickel

The Case Against the Electoral College

The proposal for direct popular vote for President, advanced by a special commission of the American Bar Association, was attacked by Alexander M. Bickel in the January 28 *New Republic* ("The Case for the Electoral College"). The electoral college deserves perpetuation, Mr. Bickel thought, because it magnifies the political power of minority voting blocs and urban party organizations in the nation's large, pivotal states.

Even if this were true – and I suggest that the case is grossly overstated – one might question whether partisan political considerations should come first in deciding how the President is to be chosen. A better criterion would be this: which election system best matches the standards of political democracy, and which system best guarantees that the popular will would not be frustrated?

The humpty-dumpty electoral college was devised for a totally different age, for a thinly populated, 18th-century union of competing and jealous states where the franchise was far more restricted than it is today. Three times in the 19th century (1824, 1876, 1888) the system caused the man who won the most popular votes to lose. Mr. Bickel suggests that "it has not happened since, and is not very likely to happen." But in three other presidential elections in this century (1916, 1948, 1960) we have come perilously close. The popular will could be thwarted again in 1968, 1972 or 1976.

Mr. Bickel feels that the President, "while a national leader," should be "a particular spokesman for urban and minority groups." Would he want a man in the Presidency who had won the big states and thus the electoral college, but had been rejected by a majority of Americans? Compare such a position to Justice Douglas' in striking down the Georgia unit vote system in 1963: "The concept of 'we the people' under the Constitution visualizes no preferred class of voters but equality among those who meet the basic qualifications. The concept of political equality, from the Declaration of Independence to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, to the 15th, 17th and 19th Amendments, can mean only one thing – one person, one vote." (The 15th Amendment prohibited the states from denying the ballot because of race; the 17th Amendment provided for direct, popular election of US senators; the 19th Amendment gave women the right to vote.)

Some conservatives defend the electoral college because they think it somehow preserves "states' rights." The obvious reply to them is that there are many better ways to strengthen the states – for one thing, by modernizing our state legislatures and getting the states to shoulder some of the social responsibilities many of them have neglected for decades. Similarly, some liberals would save the electoral college in the misguided belief it gives their big city allies some special advantage. One can answer that there are better ways of advancing liberalism than by perpetuating an undemocratic advantage in the election of the President.

The Bar Association's report points out that there is no way to guarantee the election of the popular vote winner other than by direct popular vote. Any other system can misfire. We vote directly for every other elected official in the United States, from town selectman to governor and United States senator. Why not for President? But let us leave considerations of constitutional equality aside for the moment and approach the problem as a cynical politician might.

Is it really true, that the present electoral college system guarantees a special voice for minority interests in the big cities, and that a direct vote for President would change all that? Whoever argues this stands on shifting sand. The "backlash" potential among many big city minority groups could easily defeat a liberal presidential candidate in the very states he counted on before. Or a militant right-wing pressure group, like the John Birch Society and its allies, could suddenly seize the "swing" position in key states that Negroes, Jews and a multiplicity of hyphenated Americans have been said to occupy in the past. This may already be true in California.

Carrying the thought of electoral college backlash a step further, one wonders if Mr. Bickel would view with equanimity the prospect of a George Wallace winning enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives. There, each state – Alaska and New York, Mississippi and California alike – would have a single vote, and a protracted deadlock might well result. The Wallace strategy is to accomplish just this, in the hopes of forcing one of the leading presidential candidates to sell out on civil rights as a price of victory. How would the interests of the urban minorities be protected in that event?

Mr. Bickel suggests that supposed urban overbalance in the electoral college is proper because conservative interests still occupy unfair bastions of power in the nation's legislative districts. "The Bar Association proposal," he says, "wildly overestimates the immediate impact of the apportionment decisions." He complains that the Supreme Court "has never insisted on mathematical equality of districts," or "tackled the practice of gerrymandering." One might share his disappointment that the reapportionment decisions have

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not effected instant Utopia in the state legislatures or the House of Representatives, but the fact of the matter is that exceedingly tough Supreme Court decisions are forcing virtually all the states to reduce inequalities in districts to the vanishing point. The Supreme Court underscored the point a few weeks ago by disallowing three states' districting plans in one day, one with a maximum population deviation of no more than 10.4 percent from average. Forty-six of the 50 states now have legislative districts based substantially on population. To be sure, gerrymandering still exists. But it is practiced as freely by the liberals (California and Michigan are top examples) as by the conservatives (as in Texas and Ohio). We are told that "the electoral college represents the only effective hold on power in the federal government that the urban population centers have." Apparently that means that the college's latest product, Lyndon Johnson, is the big cities' only effective defender in Washington. I doubt it.

Actually, the apportionment decisions are only part of a basic transformation of the American political landscape which has come in the past decade. Direct President-to-people contact through television, ever-increasing population mobility, expanding suffrage for Negroes, reapportionment – all these are erasing the need for privileged preserves built into our political structure, or the need for an electoral college that is supposed to balance mysteriously the North against the South, big states against small, or the good guys in the city against those cynical rural slickers in control of the legislatures and Congress.

Nor will minorities lose their crucial, swing vote power in a direct election system. The newly enfranchised Negroes from Georgia and Alabama will be able to combine their votes with Negroes from New York, Illinois and Michigan, and constitute a formidable *national* voting bloc that the parties will ignore at their peril. As the population of the urban centers continues to multiply – and no demographer now suggests any other course – presidential candidates will surely make a major pitch for the urban vote in their campaigns.

There is no reason to believe that a direct vote for President would make any significant difference in the way that presidential campaigns are conducted today, or in the relative weight of various groups. But it would guarantee true democracy in presidential elections, guarding against the travesty of a popular vote loser winning the electoral college vote and thus seizing the presidency. Abolishing the electoral college would simply confirm a direct relationship of the American people to their President that most Americans think exists anyway. NEAL R. PEIRCE

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Restraint in Resuming US Aid to Indonesia

Djakarta

In April 1965 President Johnson met with officials from the State Department and the Agency for International Development to discuss cutting back or cutting off US aid to Indonesia. Arguing for a complete suspension of aid, some officials cited Indonesia's strong friendship with communist China, her blatant hostility to the West, her unwillingness to use aid funds constructively. Others pointed to the "highly visible" US presence in Indonesia; they contended that some US projects were so close to completion, millions of dollars would be wasted if they were stopped. The President was evidently impressed by this argument for although he ordered a very deep cut in the Djakarta aid mission staff, a handful were left to supervise a few vital projects. That order remained in effect until the spring of 1966, when Washington agreed to a new aid program for Indonesia. It did not, however, want to get trapped in another Asian quagmire by making an overcommitment that would be self-defeating. The Indonesians needed assistance, but also needed to understand that the burden rested on their shoulders alone. "We came to learn that the best results were achieved when . . . the Indonesian government had already drawn up and launched a good program or project," the US Ambassador, Marshall Green, said recently.

This is a radically new approach. Previously, the US had drafted programs and in many cases the large AID staff had implemented them. Now the Indonesian government tells the US what it thinks should be done and how; it has access to any advice it wishes, but it alone has the power to accept it or reject it and it must live with the consequences of its decision.

This has put tremendous pressure on a still very young government. But the Indonesians do have their own plentiful supply of economists, as well as counsel from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. IMF officials spent several months here drafting a basic blueprint for Indonesia's economic development.

Washington is hoping for a truly multilateral-international effort in Indonesia, with as much coordination and cooperation as possible among the Western nations. This consortium approach, similar to the one used for India and Pakistan, has already been followed in rescheduling the $1 billion debt Indonesia owes the Western nations. Western creditors, including the US and Japan, formed the "Tokyo Club" which negotiated a new repayment schedule with the Indonesian government. When the "Club" meets in Europe this year, the participants will discuss coordinating

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further aid. It is apparent that Washington does not want to play the leading part. It would prefer Japan to act as the principal aid donor to Indonesia. Japanese officials here say their country does not quite welcome that honor. "We can make very positive contributions," one official said, "but we can never replace the US."

The US has given $200 million to the Asian Development Bank, which would entitle us to a major role, but it is hoped that the Asians will take the lead in the ADB when it opens for business next year. Although bilateral aid will still be the principal form relied on, officials expect that in the not-very-distant future a substantial amount of aid will come indirectly through Asian institutions like the ADB or international bodies like the World Bank or the UN. Officials here say the potential for multilateral aid projects of all kinds is almost unlimited.

When the original proposal for an Asian bank was made, Washington almost summarily dismissed it. Its acceptance now is another example of the new emphasis in our foreign aid policy, at least in Indonesia. The US is trying to reduce its commitments, partly because of the effort in Vietnam, but also because Washington wants to discourage any nation from relying too heavily on us alone.

An example of the ability of international institutions to get better results was the IMF mission to Indonesia. The mission was headed by a Burmese economist who was reported to have been very severe on the Indonesians. He is said to have told them, when he heard how large their delegation was to the Tokyo Club meeting last September, "Look, your country is having foreign exchange difficulties. Why not cut your delegation in half and save the money?" The Indonesians accepted his advice without hesitation. Their reaction might have been quite different had the advice come from an American.

The present AID budget for Indonesia is roughly $65 million and the mission is staffed by seven people. Published reports indicate that officials are planning to ask for about $80-90 million from the new Congress and add three new staff members. But officials caution that the Indonesians will have to show they can use these additional funds.

The present aid program is officially classified an "emergency" program, consisting mainly of rice and textile loans. In addition, the educational program has been resumed and over 50 Indonesians will be going to America for study. Many, if not most, of the Indonesian civilians who are providing the brains to the military's brawn in the new government are American-trained, as are a good many military officers.

The Indonesians were reportedly told by the head of the IMF team that unless they were firmly resolved to start work on their economic problems immediately, those problems might become insoluble. Suharto has made a respectable start. He has implemented an inflation stabilization program and has balanced the new budget (primarily through foreign aid funds). A foreign investment bill was passed shortly before the new year that officials here are pleased with. Recently, an agreement was signed committing AID to guarantee some investments made by American companies. Foreign investors are vital to Indonesia if export industries are to be developed that will earn foreign exchange.

Indonesia's idle factories must start producing satisfactory quantities of goods again; rice production must be increased. Inefficiency which at times is unbelievable here must be ended. Corruption which reaches into the higher levels of government must be stopped. A whole economy must be rebuilt. The public health system is a scandal, the housing situation is not much better. Education must be attended to and a public transportation system created.

Economic progress, however, is directly related to political stability, and although the situation is now relatively calm and stable there is no assurance it will stay that way. The main uncertainty at the moment concerns the future of Sukarno, who is still president. Although he has been stripped of most of his power, his mere presence is enough to make people nervous. One of President Johnson's top advisers on Asian development is reported to be urging caution on potential investors until Sukarno has been removed from office. General Suharto has been under increasing pressure to oust the "Bung," but at the pace he has set it may be 1968 before the job is done.

The military is still in absolute control of the government, and civilians are increasingly restless. Suharto is apparently sincere in wanting to hand over power to the civilians, but political parties are in a shambles – since the military has made few attempts at establishing a political base of its own, it may oppose any change that would mean renouncing its privileges.

If the Bung is removed by unconstitutional means, there is apprehension that central and east Java might try to challenge the Djakarta government. Sumatra is another potential rebel. Although the richest of the 3,000-odd islands in the Indonesian archipelago, Sumatra has long been forced to bend the knee to the rajahs in Djakarta and pay the bill for their upkeep.

The remnants of the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) amount to nothing in Sumatra but could be a major force behind a central or east Javanese uprising. Since its failure in the 1965 coup, the party has been forced underground in Java. Its resurgence, despite the bloodbath in which thousands of party members were brutally murdered, cannot be discounted.

CARY A. AMINOFF

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Who Gets What from the "Kennedy Round"?

Like the rumbling of a volcano that can scarcely be heard by those whom it is about to destroy, a foreign-policy choice of great proportions is close to eruption.

On its face, the choice involves the banal matter of tariffs. In fact, it involves our political relations with Europe and, even more, the subtle question of whether this country should, as Senator Dirksen suggested in the Republican "state of the union" message, begin to act far more than in the past on the basis only of our national interest, responsibly but selfishly conceived.

The Administration is already deeply divided about the choice Lyndon Johnson will have to make. This is not, in my view, a split between "good guys and bad guys"; it reflects the emerging debate about what the role of the United States should be.

The question is the long, boring, complex matter known as the "Kennedy Round." Begun with great fanfare by President Kennedy (James Reston's column on the matter in late 1961 started, "Hang on to your seats") through what some thought was his greatest legislative accomplishment, the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, the Kennedy Round has turned into anything but the "Grand Design" for partnership with Europe it was intended to be. It has been nearly four years of slogging, technical, narrow negotiations on tariffs, as Europe and the US drifted farther apart politically. Now it is coming to an end because the unprecedented US authority to reduce tariffs under the Trade Expansion Act expires June 30. The President, understandably, has paid little attention to the issue up to now.

Despite what the remaining diehards in the State Department, who believe that the European Common Market is God's greatest creation since the Garden of Eden and can do no wrong, may say and argue, the US is going to get a fairly bad deal out of the Kennedy Round. Not only are the Common Market's offers to reduce tariffs less attractive than ours, but the same is true of the offers of Canada and Japan.

No outsider, certainly not the present writer, has seen the lists of offers to reduce protection that have been exchanged. But enough objective officials have been willing to describe the situation to permit the conclusion stated: As of now, it is a bad deal, on purely tariff and trade terms, for the United States. What is more, there is no sign, particularly after an important and unpublicized meeting in Brussels in mid-January, that the key opposite number, the Common Market, is going to improve its offers in any significant way. For example, the US has reportedly offered to cut tariffs on steel while the Common Market has offered nothing at all. About half our paper exports are in one product, linerboard, and again the Common Market has offered almost no reduction in the tariff. Its list of "exceptions" from the general rule that all tariffs should be reduced by 50 percent has long been conceded by all sides to be much larger than ours.

All of this is more applicable to agricultural products than to industrial products. All nations protect agriculture, the Common Market most of all. It is building, in fact, a whole new system of protection and its basic offer to date is simply to pledge not to make the system more protective than it is now scheduled to be. There is some hope for a meaningful Common Market offer on grains, but this leaves nothing, or nearly nothing, for such major American export products as tobacco, processed fruits and vegetables, and beef.

It is always theoretically possible that the Common Market will make a last-minute, major improvement in its offers. If so, there will be no insuperable problem. But the greater likelihood is that the offer will be improved very little. And in that case, these are likely to be the alternatives facing the President:

► Take a bad deal as better than none. This has the advantage not only of giving the US, the world's largest exporter, at least some useful tariff reductions in our main markets. It also preserves the highly important momentum, now 20 years old, toward generally freer world trade – a momentum that a collapse of the Kennedy Round would seriously endanger.

► Act tough, as urged by Senator Dirksen and the most concerned – and constructive – House Republican, Representative Curtis of Missouri. Withdraw our own tariff-reducing offers in large batches, on the ground that we have had an unfair deal. This would probably lead to mass withdrawals by others and would mean either total collapse of the Kennedy Round or a result so minimal as to be derisory.

The "tough" viewpoint is not limited to congressional Republicans. It is held by such organizations as the American Farm Bureau Federation and it is largely backed within the government by the trade negotiating office established under the late Christian Herter. Many Democrats support it, including the chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator Russell Long.

The fascinating aspect of the choice, which only the President can ultimately make, is that it does not involve, essentially, the tiresome and ancient dispute between protection and free trade. Not at all. Nearly all the main forces are in favor of free trade, or freer trade. Nearly all believe that lower tariffs mean, as they have meant, more prosperity for the world. But should we, in effect, reduce tariffs more than others, as we have been doing for a long time? Should we cut

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tariffs on industrial products, as we have offered to, if the main agricultural importers offer little or nothing to assure the continuation of our farm exports?

Any number of subtleties complicate the question. There are sharply differing assessments, for example, as to the effect of the Common Market's emerging agricultural protection system on our exports – that is, differences over the degree of the threat to our interests. The arguments over such major industrial products as steel, aluminum, pulp and paper, and chemicals would make Byzantine lawyers dizzy. The future entry or nonentry of Britain into the Common Market is a significant question in the background, though it is not directly on the table in the Geneva negotiations. Even such a sweeping issue as having all the rich nations, whether importers or exporters of food, share in the cost of feeding the world's poor has assumed a key role in the agricultural side of the negotiations.

But with all that conceded, the choice is still likely to come down for Lyndon Johnson to being tough, even dramatically tough, by pulling back our tariff-cutting offers or of following the former line of US policy, in this and other respects, of making some sacrifices for what are essentially "world-oriented" goals.

There are some who argue that tariff cuts are good for us, regardless of what we get in return. They foster competition and help keep down prices. There is a lot of truth in this, but the trouble is that the members of Congress who will have to write new trade legislation when the present law expires this year do not see it that way. Representative Curtis, for example, who believes in lower trade barriers, is saying on all possible occasions that the key to the Kennedy Round must be "reciprocity – a word we heard too little in former years."

Viewed from the perspective of history, it would be a tragedy if this, the most ambitious effort ever made to reduce tariffs by the hundreds, were to founder on the emerging insistence of the United States on no longer being a "sucker." And yet the real blame would lie elsewhere, particularly in the Common Market, for balking at genuine trade liberalization at key points, including agriculture.

Johnson's decision will tell much about how far he is moving toward the "tough" line – a line already glimpsed in such issues as food for India and the controversy with Canada over American investments.

EDWIN L. DALE JR.

Agitators in a Fertilizer Factory

by David Sanford

When Nicaraguan rebels barricaded themselves in Managua's Gran Hotel with 89 US hostages two weeks ago, Washington could have intervened "to protect the lives of American citizens." It did not. "We do not have any intention to become involved in the internal affairs of Nicaragua," a State Department spokesman said. "The maintenance of law and order there and the conduct of free and democratic elections are the responsibility of the Nicaraguan government." Intervention wasn't necessary. Negotiations conducted through the American Embassy brought a truce of sorts, the hostages were freed, and the Somoza dynasty of Nicaragua retained control.

But there and elsewhere, the United States is much involved with law and order. In fact, the State Department is quietly training other countries' police – to make bullets, wield night sticks, prevent coups and put down communist-inspired student demonstrations. The training takes place in a 206-year-old car barn in the Georgetown section of Washington. The curriculum of the school, known as the International Police Academy, includes instruction in American criminology and the democratic ethics of the American cop.

IPA's students come from 46 countries – all over Latin America (except Cuba and Haiti), from Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Some of the countries which send students for the 13-16 weeks of training do not much like each other (an Ethiopian officer at the academy had a roommate from the Somali Republic when the two countries were fighting). IPA officials say their program has influenced the conduct of hundreds of thousands of police around the world. Multilingual instructors with backgrounds in civilian, military or federal law enforcement agencies conduct courses at the academy in police management, operations and internal security. So far nearly 2,000 police officers have graduated from IPA, more than 60 percent of them from South and Central America.

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Michael McCann, the director of IPA and chief of the training division of Agency for International Development's Office of Public Safety, came to the academy in 1963 after many years in police and FBI work. His education in public administration and sociology has made him an advocate of humane police work, the maintenance of order with a minimum of force, and harmonious relations between the police and society. But McCann is reluctant to discuss the police academy's course of study in specific terms. Holding up a copy of IPA's syllabus, he says, "There's nothing classified" about it. It has never been made public, however, "because it would be of great interest to those who would like to destroy us. The communists might even pay a little money for it. And we don't want to help them."

Students arriving in Washington are helped to find housing and to adjust to American society and to Washington. Each receives five books which will serve as basic texts – a dictionary, three volumes on police administration and one on counterinsurgency warfare. In addition, Spanish-speaking students are given *Maestros del Engaño* by J. Edgar Hoover.

The International Police Academy occupies three floors of a former tobacco warehouse and streetcar barn built in 1761. It was remodeled to the government's specifications by O. Roy Chalk, president of the D. C. Transit Company which owns the building and rents it to the academy for a little over $220,000 a year. The facilities are impressive and include one of the most modern rifle ranges in the country, two auditoriums, a gym, photo lab, 5,000-book library, classrooms and weapons vault. Much of the academy's instruction takes place in a room called the Police Operations Control Center (POCC) – a green and gray room with four rows of banked seats, overlooked by a glass-enclosed control booth and projection room. At the front of the POCC is a magnetic game board on which has been constructed the map of a mythical city, Rio Bravos, capital of the republic of San Martin. Students elect officers who sit at a long, v-shaped desk in front of the board. Each has a phone and access to a teletype machine. From the control booth, faculty field commanders alert the students to a communist-inspired riot at the city's university, or to a bombing attempt by communist subversives from the hostile neighboring country, Maoland. The students deploy their forces on the board and plan strategies, much as they would from a real police control center. If things run too smoothly the faculty will see to it that a few fires and robberies are reported elsewhere in the city, or they will inject "political considerations" which make the police rethink their operation.

To focus attention on specific areas of the model city (which is patterned after Baltimore) slides are projected onto screens at either side of the game board. There are photographs of a university (actually Georgetown in Washington) and mug shots of a fascist agitator, a student leader and a bearded communist (actually IPA faculty members). A favorite game involves the attempted assassination of the president of the friendly neighboring country of San Gregario, who is on a state visit to San Martin. The students are responsible for preventing his death.

Games played in the POCC give student officers a chance to test some of the theory learned in lectures on communications, logistics, personnel and operations. Since Rio Bravos is a mythical city, the students can forget, for the moment, the real prejudices and petty politics back home.

The San Martin Theme

San Martin was created several years ago when the school was known as the Inter-American Police Academy and was located in the Panama Canal Zone. In 1963 the Office of Public Safety spent several months and $50,000 to make a 46-minute film on the San Martin theme based on police exercises developed at the US Army School of the Americas and the Inter-American Police Academy. The film, which was approved by the State and Defense Departments, stars members of the *Guardia Nacional* of Panama, the Federal Police of Argentina, the *Cuerpo de Vigilancia* of Venezuela, civil police and military officers from Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and the United States. Called *The First Line of Defense*, the film has been used in the police academy in Panama and more recently at IPA in Washington. According to the instruction booklet, it "tells the dramatic story of a Latin American country where subversive disturbances are countered by civil police. . . ."

IPA instructors who use the film in their classes memorize the following patter as an introduction: "The events you will see take place in the mythical Latin American Republic of San Martin. But they are not fictitious events; they 'really happen.' You will see that the people of San Martin are mostly favorable to their government (else it could not stand), and that the police work with the people and are truly the first line of defense. . . . The situation . . . is more or less typical of circumstances which may arise in certain Latin American communities, and the solution will be acceptable to most democratic societies of Western Hemisphere countries."

The movie opens at sunset in Rio Bravos, a typical medium-sized Latin American city, capital of the state of Chulpas, in the Republic of San Martin. We discover that CONTRA, the National Committee for Agrarian Reform, "an old-time student organization for civil

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betterment," has been infiltrated by "strangers well past college age." Carlos Estimado, a policeman, has been keeping the headquarters of CONTRA under surveillance. In another part of town there is a meeting of striking fertilizer factory workers. Strangers, apparently Cuban communist revolutionaries, disrupt the meeting and Jorge Amistad runs to tell the police that "a well-known communist agitator," Antonio Francisco Forza, is advocating violence.

Meanwhile back at CONTRA, Carlos Estimado observes the arrival of more "strangers carrying suitcases which might contain weapons, and a truckload of boxes thought to contain subversive literature." At the docks, customs inspectors find a Czechoslovakian gun in a box said to contain 144 boxes of lump sugar.

All this is a prelude to violence at the fertilizer factory. The police tell the "friendly press" about the subversion because "favorable publicity is essential to counteract the leftist press and to discourage popular support to extremists." But the police, including Capt. Bueno, Chief Blanco, Col. Santos and Carlos Estimado, find that agitators who are throwing cardboard rocks, bombing the fertilizer factory and rioting in the streets are just too much for them to handle. The military is called in with flying wedges, tear gas and fire hoses to restore peace. As the film ends we see two policemen talking to a group of smiling children: "A new day dawns over the city of Rio Bravos. . . . The day is calm, the people of the town are peaceful. Yet somewhere, in this town and a thousand other towns, somebody may be planning to destroy the security of the people. But such plans are not likely to succeed as long as the civil police, the first line of defense of the rights of citizens, enjoy the confidence of the people and have confidence in their own ability to enforce the law." Instructors have been warned that "if objections to either doctrine or procedures in the film threaten the communications processes of a going discussion, use this as a stopper: 'Wait! There is nothing final or absolute about what you saw in this film'. . . ."

Bluffing and Bugging

Other films listed in the instructor's film reference for possible use include a 12-minute color movie called *The Police Baton*, produced by the Los Angeles police, *The Use of Tear Gas to Preserve Order*, made by the Lake Erie Chemical Company, and the well-known film *Operation Abolition*. The academy also shows its students an interesting Defense Department movie on guerrilla warfare called *The Third Challenge*. An academy official who watched a recent screening of the film with me said that the display of American military strength is very impressive to the academy students.

For the most part the academy's instruction is theoretical; specific technical training is saved for a period at the end of the term. Fire arms and riot control are taught at the academy itself, but other instruction is done under contract to public and private agencies. International Police Services, a private agency in Washington employing former FBI agents, gives courses in criminal and security investigations. The Post Office gives classes in mail checks, the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization in border patrol, and the Treasury Department in customs. Academy participants take field trips to, among other places, the FBI crime lab and the Special Warfare Center at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

The International Police Academy, in addition to training other countries' cops, assists American police agencies. For example, several months ago the Treasury Department's Law Enforcement School, which trains secret service, narcotics, customs and revenue agents, sent IPA's library a list of courses being updated and asked the librarian to suggest some relevant readings. The 46 Treasury courses included one on Informers ("how to deal with persons who give information about criminal activities because of some personal motive or reason – fear, revenge, perversity, egotism, the desire for money"). There was a course in Interviewing and Interrogating ("using tricks and bluffs – leading questions – using physiological factors – making confessions irreversible"). There was a five-hour class in Technical Investigative Aids ("listening devices and sound recorders – installing a carbon microphone for purpose of surreptitious listening") and a four-hour course in Incognito Operations ("the use of disguises and pretexts to obtain information – entrapment"). The IPA librarian knew where to look for books on these subjects, and sent off a long bibliography to the Treasury.

Questions have been raised about both the International Police Academy and the Office of Public Safety programs for strengthening police forces in countries which, while anti-communist, have repressive governments. Of all the Latin American countries IPA shuns only Haiti and Cuba. When David Bell was still head of AID he was asked if in working with civilian police forces around the world the US is not helping "gestapos" keep unpopular men in office. Mr. Bell replied: "The popularity of the heads of state in all the countries that we are working with I am sure varies. It is obviously not our purpose or intent to assist a head of state who is repressive. On the other hand, we are working in a lot of countries where the governments are controlled by people who have shortcomings. I certainly would not argue that the police activities, any more than any of the rest of our activities in all countries where we work, are related to countries that are as democratic as ours."

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The Last Madness of Jack Ruby

by Ronnie Dugger

The evidence is vivid that Jack Ruby, who was Jewish, was convinced he was being framed as an accomplice in the assassination so he could be made the scapegoat for a worldwide pogrom he believed was raging against the Jews. He blamed President Johnson, among others, for this new genocide, and in the last year or so of his life he was all but accusing Johnson of complicity in the assassination. Dying of cancer at Parkland Hospital, Lee Oswald's murderer was reported being given injections to quiet him when the delusions of the new anti-Semitic persecutions roiled up his melting life.

His doctors and lawyers became convinced that he really did believe the Jews were being slaughtered, but his jailers and prosecutors brushed it off as an act to escape the electric chair. Reporters, sharing the common suspicion he was malingering, never gave the matter much attention. But Ruby, during his encounters with the press in open courtroom, kept flinging out wilder and wilder hints about conspiracies, and finally, last spring, his remarks were so bold they were left entirely unreported.

"I think it's faked," said Dallas assistant district attorney Bill Alexander, Ruby's former friend who helped get him sentenced to death. Ruby did realize, Alexander said, that he had "hurt the Jewish position" and had "brought shame on the Jewish people as a whole," but as for mass persecutions – that, to Alexander, was just bunk. (A Dallas police officer testified during the murder trial that shortly after the shooting of Oswald, Ruby had said he wanted to kill him "because he wanted the world to know that Jews do have guts.") Dallas Sheriff J. E. (Bill) Decker said, "They got to talking about insanity, and all at once he comes up with the idea." In a second murder trial, the testimony of jail guards would have been used to try to discredit Ruby's apparent sickness. They would probably have contended that when Ruby was razzed about his bizarre ideas he would drop the subject and that once he was seen turning away and laughing about it. Ruby's outbursts in court mystified everybody who didn't know, as a lawyer who was very close to him, Sam Houston Clinton of Austin, said, that "When you start talking about conspiracies with this fellow, you've got to keep straight which way they're flowing."

During a preliminary jail hearing, defense lawyer Melvin Belli of San Francisco had accused Alexander of calling Ruby "a Jewboy." When, at Belli's insistence, Alexander's remark was read back by the court reporter, it came out, "Well, you recognize that a Jewish boy like that, discussing baseball scores with somebody from Chicago, would do it with different mannerisms and gestures than maybe a couple of colored gentlemen of African descent in south Dallas?" Belli also took the substance of this question to be an allusion to "the alleged racial characteristics of Jews and Negroes." Belli had sought to convince the jury that Ruby had an underlying brain defect, psychomotor epilepsy variant, that caused him to shoot Oswald. In San Francisco, as Ruby was dying, Belli added, "He once told me that all those race riots were actually against the Jews for what he'd done. He was completely disoriented. . . . He was hallucinating in that respect."

In mid-March 1964, the jury condemned Ruby to death, after which, according to Alexander, Ruby slipped into "a deep depressive state." On April 25, an hour or two past midnight, he apparently tried to kill or injure himself. He had been talking about Jews being boiled in oil and clapped his ear to the wall, saying he was hearing them cry out in agony. Sheriff Decker says of what then happened, "He rubbed his head on the wall enough that we had to put a little Merthiolate on it, but that's all – carried him to Parkland and put a little Merthiolate on it." Ruby "intended to do something more than he did," the sheriff says; the psychiatrist who examined Ruby the next day, Dr. Louis Jolyon West, said Ruby had dashed his head against the wall.

Another time, Decker said, Ruby "broke a light bulb." One of Ruby's jailers has related that shortly after the first incident, Ruby poured water on the floor, stood in it, and tried to put his finger in a light bulb socket, but couldn't make it. Placed in a cell, he began tearing his overalls to fashion a noose, but when his jailer told him to go ahead, it would be good riddance, he is said to have stopped doing it.

Dr. "Jolly" West is chairman of the department of psychiatry, neurology, and behavioral sciences at the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine. He was chief of the psychiatric service at the USAF hospital at Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio from 1952 to

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RONNIE DUGGER's *book* Dark Star: Hiroshima Reconsidered in the Life of Claude Eatherly of Lincoln Park, Texas, *is being published later this year.*

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1956, and he has been a consultant in psychiatry to the Surgeon General, USAF, to the USAF Aerospace Medical Center, and to the USIA and the Peace Corps. Dr. West believes that Ruby had had a "gross psychotic break" in April 1964. He diagnosed Ruby as suffering from "acute psychotic reaction: paranoid state." And West was backed up by four other psychiatrists who examined Ruby.

Ruby believed, West wrote in a report after his four visits with Ruby, that newspapers were being "doctored," that a vast conspiracy was under way, that he had been condemned at a secret trial that had nothing to do with the Oswald murder trial, that he was "to be made a scapegoat by being designated as part of the presidential assassination plot, and that a carefully planned and organized program of persecution of the Jews was the result. . . . The patient had become convinced that all the Jews in America were being slaughtered," and that this was Ruby's fault; he was "the cause of the massacre of 25 million innocent people."

"He had seen his own brother tortured, horribly mutilated, castrated and burned in the street outside the jail; he could still hear the screams," Dr. West reported. "He had seen and heard many other similar horrors. The orders for this terrible 'pogrom' must have come from Washington. . . ."

When West contradicted this, Ruby became angry and suspicious and seemed "about to attack me." He was uneven in his manner, and his thoughts were disjointed. The next day while West was talking with him, he appeared to be hearing sounds, which West gathered were "human groans and cries, sometimes of children or a child."

Tortured and Killed

By June, West said, Ruby thought "Jews were being brought to the Dallas county jail in trucks. In groups of 400 they were being tortured and killed. During the night he could hear them being unloaded, and then came the awful noises of their being boiled, burned and cut up with electrical power saws, followed by the applause of the crowds of onlooking conspirators. The bodies were being carted off in large trucks and then shipped out in trains.

"Meanwhile, the jail was being patrolled by members of the John Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, and others who were part of the vast conspiracy (apparently under the supreme direction of President Johnson); he could identify them by small white crosses on their clothing as they walked constantly up and down Main and Houston streets."

Dr. W. R. Beavers, a staff psychiatrist at Parkland, saw Ruby in April a few days after West did. Beavers, as court records show, decided that Ruby had symptoms of "an acute functional psychosis" and that the idea he was malingering was neither reasonable nor tenable. By the time Beavers testified before the Warren Commission in midsummer, he had seen Ruby nine or 10 times. He told the commission that Ruby had had a "psychotic depressive reaction" and that by mid-July the depression had diminished and the delusional system had become "more fixed" and "waxed and waned."

Dr. Robert Stubblefield, chief of Southwestern Medical School in Dallas and chief of services at Parkland, had been appointed by the court to examine Ruby and had testified that he was sane for his murder trial. On April 30 and May 1, 1964, however, Stubblefield advised the court that in his opinion Ruby was "currently severely emotionally disturbed, with major paranoid and depressive features." Later in May, Beavers, Stubblefield and Dr. John Holbrook wrote the judge in the case, Joe Brown, that "we believe that Mr. Ruby should be treated properly" and that if he was not declared insane, they offered "our consultation service, if requested." This was significant especially because Holbrook, the doctor Alexander had taken to see Ruby shortly after Oswald was shot, had testified at the murder trial that Ruby was sane. In mid-June a fifth doctor, Emmanuel Tanay, recommended psychiatric treatment for Ruby. Beavers told the commission on July 18, 1964, that all four of the other doctors so far named had the same opinion he did the last time he had talked with them: Ruby was sick and felt "that there was a pogrom concerning Jews generally because of his crime."

Thus the psychiatrists had already made their findings of a post-conviction psychosis when Ruby testified before the Warren Commission that June, making dire pleas that he be taken to Washington where he could tell the whole story and prove his innocence of conspiracy against Kennedy.

What *did* Ruby think the truth was? The Warren Commission's Volume V contains this exchange between Ruby and the Chief Justice:

Mr. Ruby: I tell you, gentlemen, my whole family is in jeopardy. My sisters, as to their lives.

Chief Justice Warren: Yes?

Mr. Ruby: Naturally, I am a foregone conclusion. My sisters Eva, Eileen, and Mary, I lost my sisters.

My brothers Sam, Earl, Hyman and myself naturally – my in-laws, Harold Kaminsky, Marge Ruby, the wife of Earl, and Phyllis, the wife of Sam Ruby, they are in jeopardy of loss of their lives. Yet they have, just because they are blood related to myself – does that sound serious enough to you . . .?

Chief Justice Warren: Nothing could be more serious, if that is the fact.

Ruby insisted that he be given a lie detector test

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under commission auspices. When he was, he simply repeated his basic story. The FBI found that if Ruby was not sick, it seemed that he was telling the truth, but that if he was psychotic, the test was valueless. Dr. Beavers having testified that although most of the time Ruby had understood the questions and answered them with an appreciation of reality, he was nevertheless sick, J. Edgar Hoover concluded that "no significance" should be given to the test. When Ruby learned of this he bitterly resented it, and his demands that he be given another test may have proceeded from this resentment.

"Burning 'em in Oil"

Late in 1964 Dallas attorney Clayton Fowler, who was then representing Ruby, emerged from the jail and said he had told Ruby that the Warren Report (which Ruby later read, himself) had found he was not a conspirator with Oswald, but "Jack replied that the world still thinks he helped kill the President." Fowler says that Ruby thought the authorities, from President Johnson on down, were out to get him. Sheriff Decker said, Fowler recalls, that Ruby was telling him the same wild stories "every time I go up to him." Fowler added that Ruby "went so far as to propose to me that they were burning 'em in oil." Believing Ruby was putting on an act, Fowler hated to go see him, it depressed him so.

After another jailhouse consultation, early in 1965, Dr. West reported his opinion that Ruby was not faking. "First," West said, "I doubt that someone unfamiliar with technical psychiatry could play the part of a paranoid delusional psychotic person with such accuracy, consistency and typical detail. Second, it places Mr. Ruby at cross purposes with his attorneys, who have repeatedly encouraged him to believe that he has an excellent chance for successful appeal and that at a new trial he would not only be saved from the death penalty but that a much more sympathetic understanding of him would emerge. Third, I don't believe that he wants to go to a mental hospital at all, despite his attorneys' belief that he should; I think he actually prefers the jail, where he says 'they know me'; that this [is] grossly inconsistent with his fears of murderous police is itself characteristic of his delusional state. Finally, he violently rejects the idea that he is mentally ill now . . .; the true malingerer usually grasps eagerly at such an explanation." In the absence of treatment, West said, Ruby had been "progressing in the course of a chronic paranoid psychosis."

"On the same day that he might be quietly playing cards or discussing the weather with his jailers, he has told his brother and sister-in-law to kill their children and commit suicide because 'they' (the persecutors) were coming to hack off the children's arms and tear out the eyes of the adults in a torture that could only end in death anyway. . . ."

"I believe," Dr. West said early in 1965, "that Jack Ruby should have been transferred to a psychiatric hospital more than 10 months ago," and the fact that he had not been was "cruel and inhumane treatment."

According to West, Dr. Beavers had withdrawn from the case because he believed he could not treat Ruby effectively in the jail. Ruby's lawyers evidently believed, too, that he was sick. Why then did they not try to get him declared insane and treated in a hospital? Joe Tonahill of Jasper, Texas, was fighting in the courts to continue as Ruby's lawyer, despite the Rubys' opposition. Attorney William Kunstler of New York City, one of the team of five lawyers who took over from Belli and Tonahill, mentions that if Ruby had been declared insane, he might have lost the right to choose his own lawyers; as well, an insanity finding might have jeopardized the appeal, which the lawyers expected to win. The point is made that a new sanity hearing could have been called for at any time later. There was also a problem of where, outside of jail, Ruby could be treated safely, and perhaps the Dallas authorities themselves feared that releasing Ruby on an insanity finding would feed suspicion that they had been in cahoots with him.

From persons close to Ruby in jail we know that in private, by the spring of 1965 and from then on, he was saying that in one city every Jew had been killed; Israel had been wiped out; Jewish persecutions in Russia had been intensified. When Jewish performers appeared on TV, he was saying, this was only because the programs had been taped – the performers were dead; but a few Jews, such as Arthur Goldberg and Abe Fortas, were being kept alive as a cover-up and would be the last ones killed. He was saying that President Johnson was helping West Germany as part of the pogrom and that Nazis were entering the US from there through Brazil, with the help of a new extradition treaty with Brazil.

The official transcript shows that on March 19, 1965, during a public hearing in the federal district court of Judge T. Whitfield Davidson on the question of removing Tonahill, Ruby came forward and told the court many hazy and fabulous things.

"I would like to speak where I can be heard," he said. "This is the most tragic thing in the history of the world. One of the most tragic conspiracies in the world. I will get on the stand and speak with tears in my heart because of such a terrible conspiracy which is combined against me." Phil Burleson of Dallas, one of his lawyers, and Tonahill were conspiring to convince people he was insane, he said.

"The most tragic thing happened that Sunday morn-

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ing when I went down that ramp. I happened to be there for a purpose which is going to be the most tragic thing that ever happened in this world," he said.

Yet in the same hearing Ruby again denied conspiring to kill Oswald: "If it had been three seconds later I would have missed this particular person [Oswald]. I guess God was against me. . . . I didn't conspire to sneak in to do these things, I am telling you. If they had said, 'Jack, are you going down now?' that would make some conspiracy on me."

This day also Ruby first publicly expressed what seems to be his own suspicion that conspirators killed Kennedy. "Well, I am sorry to say this," he told the court, "it is strange that a person like Harvey Oswald, who never worked a day in his life, and I have reason to think of these things because I know all the things that are going on, a man who has never worked in his life is able to secure a job in a bookstore weeks prior to the anticipated arrival of our beloved President. Who else could know that our President was coming to Dallas. I couldn't know. And I am speaking of what I anticipated to happen."

"Some Smell of Communism"

Denied their bid against Tonahill in federal court, the Ruby lawyers went back to Judge Joe Brown's court, where by then Judge Louis T. Holland was presiding. The week after the federal hearing, Ruby came forward in the state court, and again there is an official transcript. By this time Ruby was troubled by Tonahill's remarks, sensationally publicized in Dallas, against Kunstler and his left-of-liberal clients. ". . . I know what the whole conspiracy behind this is," Ruby said. "Joe Tonahill gets Mr. Kunstler on the stand, and everything is leading to the fact that maybe there is some smell of communism somewhere." There had also been a conspiracy, Ruby also said, to keep witnesses from testifying at his murder trial.

"I am going to be branded," he said, "and this is not a crazy man talking, that I have been part of a conspiracy with Oswald; as a matter of fact, the mere mention of his name – how small the person is to my mind." He added, "Here is how I happened to walk into my fate at that particular time. It was a terrific opportune time for me to be used."

Later on Ruby said, "It certainly is a terrible act of God, your honor, that [Oswald] had to come down at that particular time. It was then I first met the man I made deceased. I saw him and I wanted to do away with him. . . ." He had been sick, he said, and had been taking antibiotic and dexedrine pills, as well as some pills to lose weight. ". . . my body was so doped up. . . . These pills give you a positive nature of doing things."

In a tumultuous scene on September 9, 1965, again in Holland's court, Ruby disregarded his lawyers who were telling him to be quiet and declared to the press that there was a conspiracy in high places behind Kennedy's assassination. Various news reports related that he said "people in high places" had suppressed information about Oswald and about Ruby; said, as his lawyers tried to push TV microphones away from his face, "The world has the right to hear the truth"; said that Oswald knew Kennedy was coming to Dallas even before Kennedy knew it and that newsmen should search "in the high sources of our political government" to find out how Oswald got a job at the depository on the motorcade route; said that the full story of the assassination would not come out because "unfortunately some people in high places had so much to gain by putting me in this position," and when asked to elaborate on this, said that the results of the lie detector test had not been divulged; and said that there was a "terrible conspiracy" behind Kennedy's death and he, Ruby, "happened to be a scapegoat to walk into a trap and make that possible."

Ruby's lawyer Sam Houston Clinton says that during a routine hearing he believes was on March 31, 1966, he was seated beside Ruby, and that a reporter stuck a mike in front of Ruby, whereupon Ruby said that people just didn't understand and that if he ever got a chance to tell his story, they would know that " 'if Adlai Stevenson had been vice president, Kennedy would still be alive today'."

"I just sat there and shook and hoped the President of the United States didn't interest himself in the ramblings of Jack Ruby," Clinton said.

In Dallas, James Kerr Jr., a reporter-cameraman who has been Dallas bureau chief for WBAP-TV, Fort Worth, since 1948, confirmed the substance of Clinton's recollection, but differed with him on where the remark was made.

"It was March or April 1966," Kerr said. "I never heard [the tape] because we never used it. I can tell you what he said." Kerr said he approached Ruby in the courtroom, and "I asked Ruby a few questions. . . . He'd had a long time to think since he had talked to Warren and so on and so forth. I asked now, after the passage of time, in what light he saw the assassination. . . . He started out to say – Oh, it was some, really some introductory remark, like, 'Well, I'll tell you what I think,' and then he broke that off and said, as though it was a cliché that had been running through his mind, 'If Adlai Stevenson had been President of the United States, there would have been no assassination. . . .' "

"So what did that mean? What sense would you make out of that?" Kerr said. "I told my sound man to stand by." When the hearing was over, Kerr related,

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he waited in the hallway where Ruby would pass. "Ruby came out looking straight at me, looking at where I was standing with the mike. He said, 'I want to correct what I told you a while ago. What I meant to say was that if Adlai Stevenson had been vice president, there wouldn't have been an assassination.' "

"I had mild shock. Then I asked, What do you mean by that?" Ruby answered, Kerr said, " 'The man who's President now'."

Had Kerr asked Ruby if Ruby knew anything to back this up? Kerr thought he had not asked. "I didn't get the impression he was thinking about Stevenson as much as about Johnson," Kerr said. "My own explanation is that he was probably just so emotionally knotted at the time, that he was grabbing at something to justify what had happened, to explain something that nobody had been able to explain yet."

Ruby's sanity hearing last June was an empty formality. The judge insisted on it because the state appeals court had ordered that it be held, but the defense lawyers had decided that they didn't want it; they were contending that Judge Brown's role in the murder case had made the death verdict unconstitutional, so they believed they could not participate in a hearing that grew out of that case. Alexander placed a few of Ruby's guards on the stand, all of them testified that Ruby seemed all right to them, and Ruby's own lawyers stood mute. The jury found him sane.

"What else could they do?" asks Clinton. Despite that hearing, Ruby's lawyers declare that they believed in the sincerity of their client's wild delusions. "He actually thinks," said Elmer Gertz of Chicago before Ruby died, "that there's a conspiracy to transport the Jews of America to the basement of the jail in Dallas, there to be castrated and killed, and that he hears them screaming." Kunstler said that last summer Ruby still believed he had done "something good" sparing Mrs. Kennedy the Oswald trial, but felt he had brought destruction on the Jews thereby. As recently as December 4, Kunstler says, Ruby slipped him a note for Ruby's brother Earl that the Jews were being destroyed and Earl should leave the country.

After Ruby died, the Associated Press' Bernard Gavzer reported the gist of the Jewish delusions and added, "Jack Ruby also complained that his cancer was induced secretly in jail. . . . [He] was certain it had been injected into him." New fragments of the story cropped up elsewhere. *The St. Paul* (Minn.) *Dispatch* reported that one of its columnists, Bill Diehl, had bought a letter Ruby purportedly had written from his jail cell. The seller: Charles Hamilton Autographs Inc., in New York, which in turn reportedly bought it and four or five others like it, from a jail trusty, Thomas E. Miller. In Diehl's letter, the paper said, Ruby wrote that Johnson "found me as the perfect setup for a frame. Remember they had the President killed, and now with me in the picture, they'll make it look as though Castro or the Russians had it done. . . . Remember the only one who had all to gain was Johnson himself. Figure that out." Then the *Dallas Times Herald* quoted an unnamed jail repairman that Ruby had slipped him a note as they shook hands through the bars of Ruby's cell. Warning the repairman to be careful of his own life, Ruby had written, "You can save the Jews in Israel and other parts of the world from being slaughtered. You see, if this is happening here and the Jews in Israel and other countries were warned, they could save themselves."

Presenting himself as the framed scapegoat for a new slaughter of the Jews, Ruby was sick or he was faking; either his doctors and his lawyers were right, or his prosecutors and jailers were. Whatever you believe, these are the facts of his last three years. Uttering dire maledictions and garbled, puzzling hints of dark deeds and tragedy to come, he descended into death (and, he said he believed, into hell, although he no longer believed in God), a vulgar enigma, hostile, confused, trapped, and doomed.

The Mexican War Dove

Rep. Abraham Lincoln (Whig, Ill.) speaking: "When the war began, it was my opinion that all those who, because of knowing too little, or because of knowing too much, could not conscientiously approve the conduct of the President, in the beginning of it, remain silent on that point, at least till the war should be ended. . . . I think I should still adhere to it, were it not that the President and his friends will not allow it to be so. . . . Now I propose to show, that the whole of this issue is . . . the sheerest deception. . . ."

There was a war on when the new representative from the 7th Congressional District took his place in the 30th Congress in 1847. The Mexican War, declared on May 12, 1846, was political, sectional, imperial. The Southern annexationist wing of President Polk's Democrats had led the fight to admit Texas as a slave state. Lincoln had opposed slavery since his days in the Illinois General Assembly. Moreover, Northern Whigs and abolitionists deplored the doctrine of manifest destiny, that somehow the United States had the God-

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given right to extend its boundaries to the Pacific Ocean.

Only two weeks after Congress assembled, Lincoln rose to make a series of accusations against the President. Mr. Polk had said that the Mexicans were the first aggressors – by an invasion of American soil and an effusion of American blood – after rejecting friendly overtures by the United States. Lincoln built his case in a series of inquiries which immediately were branded the "spot" resolutions. He demanded to know the exact "spot" where Americans were killed and if that "spot" was indeed American territory. He implied that the Mexicans across the Rio Grande had been driven from their homes by the approach of American arms, that intervention was unnecessary for the defense of Texas.

The House took no action on Lincoln's resolutions; clearly his speech was designed to embarrass the President rather than to elicit facts. But there was an immediate backlash among Lincoln's constituents: their representative sounded as if he was not backing the boys in Mexico. Democratic war meetings in Illinois reprimanded him. Although the Whig paper in Chicago said that "there is music in that very tall Mr. Lincoln," the *Illinois State Register* in his home town called him "the Benedict Arnold of our district." They kept up the ridicule in a piece called "Out Damned Spot," saying that "poor Lincoln" had written his own epitaph: "Died of the Spotted Fever."

But his big blast against the war came on January 12, 1848, only three weeks after his "spot" speech and in spite of the criticism of him. It was carefully prepared – "I condensed all I could for fear of being cut off by the hour rule, and when I got through, I had spoke but 45 minutes." He began by saying that "mere party wantonness" was not the reason for his stand against the war. His basic position was that the war was "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced." The President, he said, tried to twist every silent vote for supplies to support the army into an endorsement of the war itself. He found a credibility gap in the President's first war message which declared that the soil was ours where hostilities began – this, he said, was "the sheerest deception."

Constructed almost in the form of a legal brief, the speech attempted to drive a wedge between the President and the Congress. He delved into old treaties, going back to the Louisiana purchase. The question was how far the boundaries of Texas extended. "That Congress did not understand it to extend clear to the Rio Grande," he said, "is quite certain." But nobody really was certain about the ownership of the vague borders between Texas and Mexico.

Lincoln then attacked the hawks who sought victory and glory. He said that the President really knew that "the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him . . . by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory – that attractive rainbow, that rises in showers of blood – that serpent's eye, that charms to destroy – he plunged into it, and has swept, on and on, till, disappointed in his calculation of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself, he knows not where." "The President is wandering and indefinite," he said. "First, it is to be done by a more vigorous prosecution of the war in the vital parts of the enemy's country," and then "the continued success of our arms may fail to secure a satisfactory peace." The major omission in the President's war message, he said, was when the war could be expected to end.

The most startling section of Lincoln's speech seemed to give aid and comfort to the enemy. He preached a doctrine of people's revolution: "Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable – a most sacred right – a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government, may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own, of so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority, intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movement. Such minority was precisely the case of the Tories of our own revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old lines, or old laws; but to break up both, and make new ones."

There were new protests in Illinois. The Sangamon County Democratic convention congratulated the state for its citizens' patriotism but noted one exception: "The Hon. Abraham Lincoln, present Whig Representative from this Congressional District, who has lent himself to the schemes of apologists and defenders of Mexico, and revilers of their own country."

Congressman Lincoln's speeches against the war lived to haunt him and his party. He hinted that he would be glad to run for a second term; not only did he not get the nomination but his party's candidate in the Seventh District was badly defeated. Yet he stuck to his antiwar guns. More than a year after his January 12 speech he wrote to Jesse W. Fell, Adlai Stevenson's great-grandfather, thanking him for enclosing a petition for peace.

HERBERT MITGANG

MR. MITGANG *is executive editor of* CBS News *and the author of* Lincoln As They Saw Him.

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Vietnam Legacy

by David Schoenbrun

The Bitter Heritage is a bitter-sweet essay that will please few but stir all who read it. Despite some serious flaws, it is by far the best short history and analysis of the war in Vietnam available in book form. It is not, strictly speaking, a book. It totals less than 40,000 words, most of them previously published in three magazine articles. One whole chapter, "On the inscrutability of history," first published in *Encounter*, is a long, brilliant discursion with minimal relevance to the subject. It is regrettable that the author and publisher yielded to the commercial temptation of publishing this essay in hard cover at $3.95 a copy. It ought to be a 95-cent paperback within reach of college students.

The Bitter Heritage:
Vietnam and American Democracy
1941 – 1966
by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
(Houghton Mifflin; $3.95)

Its sweetness is found in its dedication and its last chapter. It is dedicated "for those fighting in Vietnam." (The hawks are by no means the only patriots, the only supporters of our soldiers.) And the last chapter, "Vietnam and American Democracy," is a moving, lucid appeal to reason and the best democratic traditions of responsible dissent, as well as a warning against a recrudescence of McCarthyism in the course of the increasingly bitter national divisions on the war.

The bitterness is there, too, if well concealed by the "cool" style of the sophisticated pamphleteer that Schlesinger has become. He uses his pen as a rapier, "that silent, white weapon of the gentleman," swiftly, skillfully and with deadly precision. The man he slashes most deftly is Secretary of State Dean Rusk but his principal victim is President Johnson.

Scholar-duelist Schlesinger does not confine his thrusts at Rusk to Vietnam. He goes far back into the records to make Rusk look foolish, such as this quote from May 18, 1951, when Rusk was an Assistant Secretary of State: "The Peiping regime may be a colonial Russian government – a Slavic Manchukuo on a larger scale. It is not the government of China. It does not pass the first test. It is not Chinese." In the light of the current Sino-Soviet split and China's competition with Russia for world communist leadership, Rusk's 1951 estimate is grotesque. Mr. Schlesinger might have strengthened his case, largely built on hindsight, by pointing out that the then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, was already talking publicly about a Sino-Soviet rift, predicting the split that followed. Rusk was wrong by almost any standard, hindsight or foresight.

The most devastating use of quotations to cut a man to pieces is directed against President Johnson:

> "Some others are eager to enlarge the conflict. They call upon us to supply American boys to do the job that Asian boys should do. They ask us to take reckless actions which might risk the lives of millions and engulf much of Asia."
>
> (August 12, '64 election campaign speech)

> "I have had advice to load our planes with bombs and to drop them on certain areas that I think would enlarge the war and result in committing a good many American boys to fighting a war that I think ought to be fought by the boys of Asia to help protect their own land. And for that reason I haven't chosen to enlarge the war."
>
> (August 29, '64)

> "There are those who say you ought to go north and drop bombs, to try to wipe out the supply lines, and they think that would escalate the war. We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys. We don't want to get involved in a nation with 700,000,000 people and get tied down in a land war in Asia."
>
> (September 25, '64)

> "We are not going north and we are not going south; we are going to continue to try to get them to save their own freedom with their own men, with our leadership and our officer direction, and such equipment as we can furnish them."
>
> (September 28, '64)

> "'We are not going to send American boys nine to ten thousand miles from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves."
>
> (October 21, '64)

Perhaps the cruelest cut of all is Schlesinger's quoting Senator Johnson's criticism of President Eisenhower's brief attempt to obtain congressional approval to intervene to save the embattled French legions in Dien Bien Phu. The then Minority Leader charged that the United States "is in clear danger of being left naked and alone in a hostile world. . . . Our friends and allies are frightened and wondering, as we do, where we are headed." Mr. Schlesinger might, here again, have strengthened his case had he pursued his research more carefully in a longer study, for he overlooked the more telling fact that it was Minority Leader Johnson who led the opposition against the Eisenhower-Dulles intervention scheme by demanding prior consultation and consent of our allies, notably the British. Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden – no appeasers – were appalled by the proposal and turned it down flat. Eisenhower could not deliver to the Senate the guarantee Johnson had demanded and therefore had to abandon the idea.

Schlesinger's faults of omission become grave and injure his otherwise

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effective essay when he commits serious errors in a reference to the Geneva Conference of 1954: ". . . And negotiations in Geneva, in which the United States *declined to take part*, resulted in the de facto *partition of Vietnam at the 17 parallel*" (italics added).

The phrase "declined to take part" would leave the uninformed reader with the impression that the United States had no part in the Geneva Conference, was not even there. In fact the United States delegation, headed by General Bedell Smith, was not only there but participated in the Conference. Schlesinger is correct only in the very narrowest and most unimportant sense of the phrase "to take part"; the US was indeed not an *official* participant in the Conference. But General Smith did attend the meetings as an interested party and, at the concluding session, when the final agreement, now known as the "Geneva Accords," was read, he spoke on behalf of the United States and pledged that we would not take any actions against those accords if they were not forcibly violated by others. This is a most important point, for it has been falsely argued that we were in no way committed by the Geneva Accords.

It is also regrettable that Schlesinger states there was a de facto partition of Vietnam. The Geneva Accords very precisely stated that there was to be only a "temporary, military demarcation line," for the purposes of regrouping hostile troops on either side, leading to a period of calm that would permit free elections and unification of the country. A *temporary demarcation* is legally and morally very different from a partition. It is true that the divisions of Berlin and Korea became partitions but there was not much doubt that this was the Soviet intention. Partition was not the intention of the Geneva conferees. Schlesinger should also have recalled the agreement on free elections. How can the public judge the validity of the Geneva Accords, so often referred to as a possible solution today, if its most basic clauses are not precisely stated?

Schlesinger is on much firmer ground when he attacks the Administration argument that we are legally committed, under SEATO, to defend South Vietnam. He cites the Dulles testimony at the original SEATO hearings in November '54: "If there is a revolutionary movement in Vietnam or Thailand, we would consult together . . . but we have no undertaking to put it down: all we have is an undertaking to consult." He also cites the transcript of August 1964, of the Senate Foreign Relations hearings, when Rusk testified: "We are not acting specifically under the SEATO Treaty." And Senator Morse's statement that Rusk had twice told the Committee, in Executive Session, "that we are not acting in Vietnam under SEATO."

Schlesinger succeeds in angering hawks and doves both in his argument about the validity of our involvement in Vietnam. First, he knocks down the SEATO commitment argument, stating that "No President of the US before President Johnson interpreted the SEATO Treaty as compelling American military intervention, and no other signatory so interprets the treaty today . . . [it] is an exercise in historical and legal distortion." Having shot down the hawks' favorite argument he then shoots at the doves by arguing that Eisenhower's offer of economic aid to Diem plus the special protocol of SEATO "did draw a line across Southeast Asia," and that, although this did not "in any legal way compel American military intervention," it did, "in a political way," involve the United States in holding that line. In other words, Schlesinger feels the intervention was not legal, it involved "no vital strategic interest," but it was drawn, "for better or for worse," and "we must deal with the situation that exists."

The best and most important chapters are II to VI, some fifty pages of tightly written, finely reasoned answers to the most fundamental questions that Americans are asking more and more insistently. These chapters are entitled: "What We Did There," "Where We Are Now," "The Price We Are Paying," "The Roots of Our Trouble," and "Is China the Enemy in Vietnam?" Briefly these are Schlesinger's answers:

What We Did There

Eisenhower, on Dulles' advice, offered South Vietnam's Premier Diem economic aid, on condition that he carry out political and economic reforms. He took the aid but not the advice. Kennedy then increased the number of our "advisors," less than 1,000 under Eisenhower, to 10,000 and gave them arms and authorized them to shoot back if fired at. Schlesinger, a devotee of Kennedy, puts the blame for the escalation on General Maxwell Taylor and Walt Rostow and absolves Kennedy. He is less considerate of Eisenhower and Johnson. He blames them not their advisors.

Where We Are Now

Johnson took the final decisive plunge over the brink increasing Kennedy's 10,000 advisors by geometric proportions to 25,000, 75,000, 150,000, 400-000, now on the way to a half million. He carried the war from the ground to the air, from the South to the North, from purely conventional weapons to chemical weapons, napalm, fire bombs and defoliation bombs, practically everything short of A-weapons. We are, says Schlesinger, carrying out "the physical obliteration of the nation" in the course of protecting it. Schlesinger wonders "what other country, seeing the devastation we have wrought in Vietnam, will wish American protection?" Finally he wonders whether we are really fighting to save the Vietnamese, or "are we doing it for less exalted purposes of our own?"

The Price We Are Paying

At the time Schlesinger was writing, the war was costing a billion-and-a-half dollars a month. Since he closed his book it has shot up over two billion a month. "Everything is grinding to a stop" in domestic programs, Schlesinger asserts. He states that Johnson was on his way to "a place in history as a great President, for his vision of a Great Society; but the Great Society is now, except for token gestures, dead." We are estranged from our allies, divided among ourselves, putting great strains upon the loyalty of a wonderful new generation of American youth,

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risking a revival of McCarthyism, weakening our economy, infecting the body politic.

The Roots of Our Trouble

We have been imprisoned by "old illusions – the illusion of American omnipotence and the illusion of American omniscience." Johnson does not have the "knack for discrimination in his use of power." "His greatest weakness is his susceptibility to overkill." "The appearance of flim-flam showmanship and manipulation in Washington has created a crisis of credibility from which it may take the nation a long time to recover."

Is China the Enemy in Vietnam?

Schlesinger charges that, "hovering behind our policy is a larger idea," that this is a "fateful test of wills between China and the United States." The proof that the real enemy is China, advanced by "our leaders," is, in Schlesinger's view, "exceedingly sketchy and almost perfunctory." Most of the countries directly threatened by Chinese expansion – Russia, Japan and India – "apparently do not accept it" (the proof, that is). We have not understood that communism is not monolithic but polycentric, which is why we profess to see China as the real reason for revolution in Vietnam.

Schlesinger points up the absurdities of official analogies between Southeast Asia and aggressions in Manchuria by the Japanese or Czechoslovakia by Hitler. Vietnam will "not be solved by bad historical analogies," Schlesinger insists. He states that "the containment of China will be a major problem for the next generation," but wisely warns us against confusing "the prevention of Chinese aggression with the suppression of nationalist revolution."

Schlesinger's natural allies among those who oppose Administration policy in Vietnam will find excellent documentation and argument to serve their cause in the five chapters cited above. They will also respond warmly and gratefully to his closing chapter on American democracy and his plea to "preserve mutual trust among ourselves as Americans." It is these chapters that make one hope that this valuable, if uneven, essay will enjoy the widest possible circulation. It comes so

She Needs Your Love

Little Kim was abandoned by her mother in an alley of Seoul, Korea. She was found curled up behind a box, shivering, hungry and frightened.

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And in return you will receive your child's personal history, photograph, plus a description of the orphanage where your child lives. You can write and send packages. Your child will know who you are and will answer your letters. Correspondence is translated at our overseas offices.

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close to being exactly the right book, at the right length, by the right man, whose byline commands national attention and respect, that it is altogether lamentable to find in the very heart of the essay – his proposals for a solution, "A Middle Course" – so many grounds for controversy not only with the hawks but with the doves. Perhaps Schlesinger is right to stop flying around and propose a middle ground on which to alight. But his middle ground proposals suffer from the weakness of most middle-of-the-road ideas: they please neither side. And he puts his proposals in such a manner as to provoke angry argument.

For example, Schlesinger, having disposed of the spurious legal argument that we are committed under SEATO, goes on to say that we have taken "moral obligations" to those South Vietnamese who, because of collaboration with us, would be imprisoned or suffer "death" if the Viet Cong should take over South Vietnam by force. Many Americans would not agree that the Administration has committed us all morally to its errors. Many remember that this same argument was long used by the French to justify their refusal to pull out of Algeria. But, were there mass arrests and killings when the French left Algeria? There were not. There is also another alternative which he does not even mention. Those who were most marked by collaboration with us can be offered asylum by us rather than our having to commit more men to fight and die because an error has been made.

There are many flaws of this kind in his reasoning, but the most glaring and controversial is Schlesinger's treatment of the question of our bombing North Vietnam. He impressively reviews all the arguments and demonstrates that the bombing is not only cruel, inhuman, destructive of those we are trying to protect, but that it is basically futile as a military means of winning the war or even bringing about a negotiation. Having proved that, does he therefore conclude that we should stop bombing? No, Schlesinger concludes: "Let us therefore taper off the bombing of the north as prudently as we can." Basically, Schlesinger proposes a general tapering-off: a reduction of bombing, a de-escalation which is, "of course, something a good deal less than withdrawal." He proposes recognition of the Viet Cong as a legitimate indigenous group entitled to share in an interim regime that would prepare for elections after a negotiated truce, but says that they must first lay down their arms and open their territories. He suggests generous amnesty provisions such as those "which worked so well in the Philippines" – where the communists were defeated. He approves the theories of Generals Ridgway and Gavin who argue that "it is possible to slow down a war without standing still." Finally, he suggests that we should accept a "neutralization under international guarantee," as our "long-run objective in Vietnam." Unfortunately this last proposal is glossed over in a very few words without any attempt to make a strong, thoughtful case for neutralization. That is the main trouble of this chapter's reprint of the *New York Times* article in which it was originally published. It is sometimes brilliantly but often too briefly argued. It goes too far to placate the hawks and not far enough to satisfy the doves.

Most of us, it seems to me from frequent traveling and lecturing across the nation, are confused, worried and frustrated by the war in Vietnam. The majority lies between the hawks and the doves. Whether this middle group will find a new place to stand in Schlesinger's middle ground is a question that can only be answered if and when millions of citizens read his book. One can always argue with and try to perfect an excellent presentation. Without one, nothing can be done. This is so very good a presentation that it is a pleasure to be able to argue with it, to hope for its great success and, eventually, a more thorough, bolder advance by Arthur Schlesinger, a man who has already served his country well and has made a valuable contribution to liberal democracy.

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The Future of an Illusion

by Andrew Kopkind

It is hard to tell whether Barry Goldwater's campaign suffered or prospered from its almost total misunderstanding by the American public. Liberals thought it was a kind of fascist nightmare (C. L. Sulzberger), an irrelevant and transient "caper" (Richard Rovere) or a "bizarre substitute for rationality" (this journal). Conservatives thought it was the return to normalcy (General Eisenhower), the Right Revolution (*National Review*), and, as an editor of *Time* said in the Cow Palace at the end of the acceptance speech: "Goldwater's is the last great American voice." Some said a Goldwater victory would produce nuclear war, domestic anarchy, and the repeal of the New Deal. They talked about emigrating to Canada. Others rather thought a Goldwater Administration would bring the US to the pinnacle of world power, produce an instant free-market economy, and restore lost innocence to a ravaged society. They talked about coming to Washington.

In a Cause That Will Triumph
by Karl Hess
(Doubleday; $4.95)

The truth, as usual, lay nowhere in between. Within the conventional political system, the Goldwaterites were making a very brave and entirely contemporary experiment: to conduct politics not by images or consensus but around issues and social conflict. "What the Senator himself wanted to do was simply to level with the audience, perhaps bumbling a few words," Karl Hess says, "but telling them openly and conversationally that the issues involved were ethical, really involved the producers versus the looters." Now Hess, like most of the Goldwaterites, is not awfully astute, and this volume

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of campaign reminiscences is filled with all the nonsense, cant, self-justifications, and self-blindness that made Goldwater an impossible alternative. But all that does not invalidate the legitimacy of Goldwater's political experiment. He was trying to do what left-liberals have been failing to do for a generation, what C. Wright Mills once characterized as an attempt to connect "the personal troubles of milieu" and "the public issues of social structure."

Hess would be the last person to turn to Mills for support, but he might, for curiosity's sake and in the dead of night, wrap *The Sociological Imagination* in the dust jacket of *The Conscience of a Conservative* and read from page 1:

> "Nowadays men often feel that their private lives are a series of traps. They sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles, and in this feeling, they are often quite correct: What ordinary men are directly aware of and what they try to do are bounded by the private orbits in which they live; their visions and their powers are limited to the close-up scenes of job, family, neighborhood; in other milieux, they move vicariously and remain spectators. And the more aware they become, however vaguely, of ambitions and of threats which transcend their immediate locales, the more trapped they seem to feel."

The description perfectly fits the Goldwaterites, the outcasts of the liberal establishment, the alienated, fragmented, unsatisfied, uneasy suburban middle class. They are neither patronized like the poor, nor empowered like the corporate managers (both of which groups opposed Goldwater). Their communities are anomic, their families disintegrated, their work routine, their culture banal, their leisure empty, their status precarious. They feel threatened, but they are not sure by what or by whom. For a start, they will blame the Negroes (declining property values, high cost of welfare), the communists (wars and the high cost of defense), and the federal government (social manipulation and high taxes). The constant is the threat they feel to their material prosperity, which is in fact their only security, only happiness.

What is the connection between those "personal troubles of the milieu" and the "public issues of the social structure?" The conventional view of American politicians and intellectuals is that the one has very little to do with the other. People with problems should learn to think positively and develop "compassion." Some problems may be solved by legislative adjustments. To reduce juvenile delinquency, build teen centers and improve police forces; to make work attractive, give higher wages and more holidays; to secure status, give more college diplomas. But never change the social structure.

The Goldwater campaign, Hess makes clear, was a new kind of assault on the order of society, that "relatively free and productive industrial system, permitting and even encouraging inventiveness, which can flourish alongside, or with, a paternalistic political system." In order to change the lives of ordinary people, in order to build true communities, integrate society, unite families, revitalize culture, and invest work with meaning, it is necessary radically to alter relationships in the society. Power and money have to be redistributed, and new kinds of institutions devised to give people some measure of participation in their society.

That, at least, was the Goldwater campaign's rhetoric (which Hess framed, as the candidate's principal speech writer), and it had a certain amount of success in defining issues that had been considered taboo in political campaigns. It politicized more ordinary people (pro and con, which is what counts) than any campaign in a long time; there was really something of an ideological movement about the Goldwater campaign, and it forced Johnson followers to think about their own ideological underpinnings. It was entirely different from the Kennedy-Nixon campaign, for instance, in which the "issues" had nothing to do with social conflict but were confined to specifics of technique (industrial growth, defense efficiency).

But there was something terribly

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wrong with Goldwaterism and the Goldwaterites, and that is where the experiment failed. Hess is accurate and convincing when he talks about "making politics," but he is nonsensical when he digs into an analysis of American society, and baffling when he comes to offering prescriptions for new policies. He sees the totalitarian implications of "liberal corporatism" plainly enough, but he relates it somehow to "international communism," driving towards world conquest according to an historical imperative. He takes old-fashioned Marxist doctrine much too seriously.

But what *is* to be done? Hess (and Goldwater) had very few ideas, and only the dimmest idea of what relationships should be changed, and how. There is no reason to believe that what they would do as a national Administration could begin to change social structures so as to affect the personal milieux in any significant way. They were primarily concerned with the troubles of a specific group of middle-class Americans; their ideology reflected the interests of that class only. More than that, there was no way for them to extend their political base beyond that class. Whether or not they were racist, or anti-intellectual, or war-hawkish (and not to make comparisons with Goldwater's victorious opponent, as he has evolved), the Goldwaterites comprised a minority in the US, and they are not likely to become a social majority. Hess saw that dilemma, and came up with a "moderate" solution: work through the established Republican Party and manipulate it so as to effect the necessary changes. That sounds like incipient ADA-ism, and not very extremist at all. And it suggests that the future of Goldwaterism will be far from triumphant.

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Tourist in the City of Youth

Some years ago I attended an evening of mime by Marcel Marceau, an elaborate exercise in aesthetic purification during which the audience kept applauding its own appreciation of culture and beauty, *i.e.*, every time they thought they recognized what was supposed to be going on. It had been bad enough when Chaplin or Harpo Marx pulled this beauty-of-pathos stuff, and a whole evening of it was truly intolerable. But afterward, when

Blow-Up (MGM)

friends were acclaiming Marceau's artistry, it just wouldn't do to say something like, "I prefer the Ritz Brothers" (though I do, I passionately do). They would think I was being deliberately lowbrow, and if I tried to talk in terms of Marceau's artistry versus Harry Ritz's artistry, it would be stupid, because "artist" is already too pretentious a term for Harry Ritz and so I would be falsifying what I love him for. I don't want to push this quite so far as to say that Marceau is to comedians I like what Antonioni's new *Blow-Up* is to movies I like, but the comparison may be suggestive. And it may also be relevant that Antonioni pulls a Marceau-like expressionist finale in this picture, one of those fancy finishes that seems to say so much (but what?) and reminds one of so many naïvely bad experimental films.

Will *Blow-Up* be taken seriously in 1968 only by the same sort of cultural diehards who are still sending out five-page single-spaced letters on their interpretation of *Marienbad*? (No two are alike, no one interesting.) It has some of the *Marienbad* appeal: a friend phones for your opinion and when you tell him you didn't much care for it, he says, "You'd better see it again. I was at a swinging party the other night and it's all anybody talked about!" (Was there ever a good movie that everybody was talking about?) It probably won't blow over because it also has the *Morgan!-Georgy Girl* appeal; people identify with it so strongly, they get *upset* if you don't like it – as if you were rejecting not just the movie but *them*. And in a way they're right, because if you don't accept the peculiarly slugged consciousness of *Blow-Up*, you *are* rejecting something in them. Antonioni's new mixture of suspense with vagueness and confusion seems to have a kind of numbing fascination for them that they associate with art and intellectuality, and they are responding to it as *their* film – and hence as a masterpiece.

Antonioni's off-screen conversation, as reported to us, is full of impeccable literary references, but the white-faced clowns who open and close *Blow-Up* suggest that inside his beautifully fitted dinner jacket he carries – next to his heart – a gold-edged gift edition of Kahlil Gibran. And from the way people talk about the profundity of *Blow-Up*, that's probably what they're responding to. What would we think of a man who stopped at a newsstand to cluck at the cover girls of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* as tragic symbols of emptiness and sterility, as evidence that modern life isn't "real," and then went ahead and bought the magazines? Or, to be more exact, what would we think of a man who conducted a leisurely tour of "swinging" London, lingering along the flashiest routes and dawdling over a pot-party and a mini-orgy, while ponderously explaining that although the Mod scene appears to be hip and sexy, it represents a condition of spiritual malaise in which people live only for the sensations of the moment? Is he a foolish old hypocrite or is he, despite his tiresome moralizing, a man who knows he's hooked?

It's obvious that there's a new kind of non-involvement among youth, but we can't get at what that's all about by Antonioni's terms. He is apparently unable to respond to or to convey the new sense of community among youth, or the humor and fervor and astonishing speed in their rejections of older values; he sees only the

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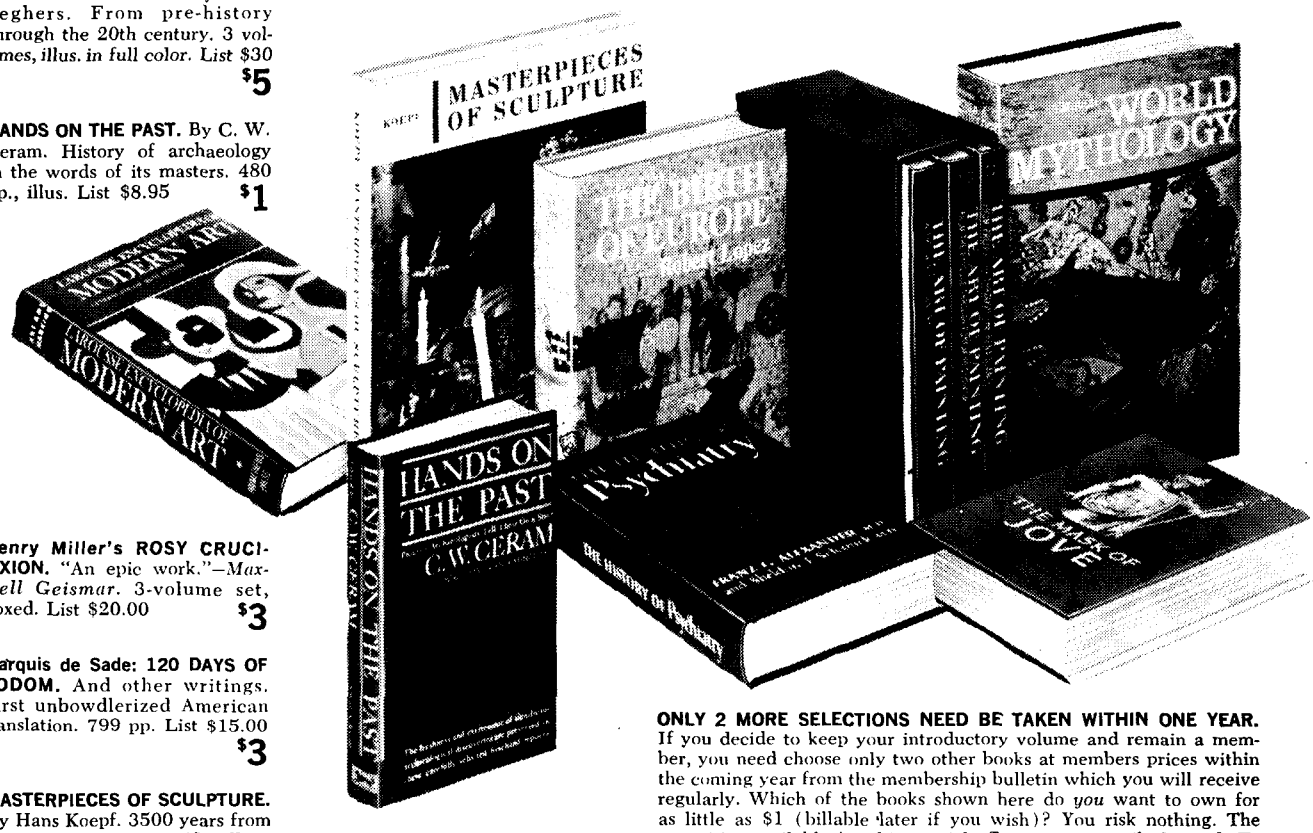

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emptiness of Pop culture. All we can tell is that he doesn't understand what's going on – which is comprehensible, God knows, because who does? But then shouldn't he spare us the attitudes worthy of a *Time* essay or a Reagan speech?

Those who enjoy seeing this turned-on city of youth, those who say of *Blow-Up* that it's the trip, it's where we are now in consciousness and that Antonioni is in it, part of it, ahead of it like Warhol, may have a better sense of what Antonioni is about than the laudatory critics. Despite Antonioni's negativism, the world he presents looks harmless, and for many in the audience – and not just the youthful ones – sex without "connecting" doesn't really seem so bad – naughty, maybe, but nice. Even the smoke at the pot-party is enough to turn on some of the audience. And there's all that pretty color which delights the critics, though it undercuts their reasons for praising the movie because it's that bright cleaned-up big-city color of I-have-seen-the-future-and-it's-fun. Antonioni, like his fashion-photographer hero, is more interested in getting pretty pictures than in what they mean. But for reasons I can't quite fathom, what is taken to be shallow in his hero is taken to be profound in him. Maybe it's because of the symbols: do pretty pictures plus symbols equal art?

There are the revelers who won't make room on the sidewalk for the nuns (spirit? soul? God? love?) and jostle them aside; an old airplane propeller is found in an antique shop; the hero considers buying the antique shop; two homosexuals walk their poodle, etc. Antonioni could point out that the poodle is castrated, and he'd probably be acclaimed for that, too – one more bitter detail of modern existential agony. There is a mock copulation with camera and subject that made me laugh (as the planes fornicating at the beginning of *Strangelove* did). But from the reviews of *Blow-Up* I learn that this was "tragic" and "a superbly realized comment on the values of our time" and all that. People seem awfully eager to abandon sense and perspective and humor and put on the newest fashion in hair shirts; New York critics who are just settling into their upper-East Side apartments write as if they're leaving for a monastery in the morning.

Hecht and MacArthur used to write light satirical comedies about shallow people living venal lives that said most of what Antonioni does and more, and were entertaining besides; they even managed to convey that they were in love with the corrupt milieu and were part of it without getting bogged down. And Odets, even in late work like his dialogue for *Sweet Smell of Success*, also managed to convey both hate and infatuation. Love-hate is what makes drama not only exciting but possible, and it certainly isn't necessary for Antonioni to resolve his conflicting feelings. But in *Blow-Up* he smothers this conflict in the kind of pompous platitudes the press loves to designate as proper to "mature," "adult," "sober" art. Who the hell goes to movies for mature, adult, sober art, anyway? Yes, we want more from movies than we get from the usual commercial entertainments, but would anybody use terms like mature, adult, and sober for *The Rules of the Game* or *Breathless* or *Citizen Kane* or *Jules and Jim*?

The best part of *Blow-Up* is a well-conceived and ingeniously edited sequence in which the hero blows up a series of photographs and discovers that he has inadvertently photographed a murder. It's a good murder mystery sequence. But does it symbolize (as one reviewer says) "the futility of seeking the hidden meanings of life through purely technological means"? I thought the hero did rather well in uncovering the murder. But this kind of symbolic interpretation is not irrelevant to the appeal of the picture: Antonioni loads his atmosphere with so much confused symbolism and such a heavy sense of importance that the viewers use the movie as a Disposal for intellectual refuse. We get the stock phrases about "the cold death of the heart," "the eroticism is chilling in its bleakness," a "world so cluttered with synthetic stimulations that natural feelings are overwhelmed," etc., because Antonioni *inspires* this pompous jargon.

When the photographer loses the photographic record of the murder, he loses interest in it. According to *Time*, "Antonioni's anti-hero" – who is said to be a "little snake" and "a grincingly accurate portrait of the sort of squiggly little fungus that is apt to grow in a decaying society" – "holds in his possession, if only for an instant, the alexin of his cure: the saving grace of the spirit." (My Webster doesn't yield a clue to "grincingly"; an "alexin" is "a defensive substance, found normally in the body, capable of destroying bacteria.") In other words, if he did something about the murder, like going to the police, he would be accepting an involvement with the life or death of others, and he would find his humanity and become an OK

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guy to *Time*. (Would he then not be a representative of a decaying society, or would the society not then decay? Only *Time* can tell.)

This review, and many others, turn the murder into something like what the press and TV did with the Kitty Genovese case: use it as an excuse for another of those what-are-we-coming-to editorials about alienation and indifference to human suffering. What was upsetting about the Genovese case was not those among the "witnesses" who didn't want to get involved even to the degree of calling the police (cowardice is not a new phenomenon) but our recognition that in a big city we don't know when our help is needed, and others may not know when we need help. This isn't a new phenomenon, either; what is new is that it goes against the grain of modern social consciousness, *i.e.*, we feel responsible even though we don't know how to act responsibly. The press turned it into one more chance to cluck, and people went around feeling very superior to those thirty-eight witnesses because they were sure *they* would have called the police.

The moral satisfaction of feeling indignant that people take away from these cases (though I'm not sure that *Time's* moral is what Antonioni intended; probably not) is simple and offensive. Do all the times that the police are called when they are or aren't needed prove how humanly involved with each other we are? The editorial writers don't tell us. And they couldn't do much with the West Coast case of the young academic beaten, tied to his bed, moaning and crying for help for days before he died. His friends and neighbors heard him all right, but as that's how he customarily took his pleasure, they smiled sympathetically and went about their own affairs, not knowing that this time the rough trade he had picked up to beat him had been insanely earnest.

The quick rise to celebrity-status of young fashion-photographers, like the quick success of pop singers, makes them ideal "cool" heroes, because they don't come up the slow, backbreaking Horatio Alger route. And the glamour of the rich and famous and beautiful rubs off on the photographer who shoots them, making him one of them. Antonioni uses David Hemmings in the role very prettily – with his Billy Budd hair-do, he's like a pre-Raphaelite Paul McCartney. But if we're supposed to get upset because this young man got rich quick – the way some people get morally outraged at the salaries movie stars make – that's the moral outrage television personalities specialize in and it's hardly worth the consideration of art-house audiences. Yet a surprising lot of people seem willing to accept assumptions such as: the fashion photographer is symbolic of life in our society and time; he turns to easy sex because his life and ours is empty, etc. Mightn't people like easy sex even if their lives were reasonably full? And is sex necessarily empty just because the people are strangers to each other, or is it just different? And what's so terrible about fast, easy success? Don't most of the people who cluck their condemnation wish they'd had it?

Vanessa Redgrave, despite an odd Mod outfit, has a tense and lovely presence, and because she has been allowed to act in this film (in which almost no one else is allowed to project) she stands out. However, someone has arranged her in a wholly gratuitous mood – laughing with her head back and teeth showing in a blatant imitation of Garbo. It's almost a subliminal trailer for *Camelot* in which, according to advance publicity, she will be "the Garbo of the Sixties." This little deformation does not stick out as it might in another movie because this movie is so ill-formed, anyway. The exigencies of the plot force Antonioni to alter his typical "open" construction (famous partly because it was the most painstakingly planned openness in movie history). In *Blow-Up* he prepares for events and plants characters for reappearances when they will be needed, but limply, clumsily; and he finds poor excuses for getting into places like the discotheque and the pot-party, which "use" London to tell us about dehumanization. In some terrible way that I suppose could be called Antonioni's genius, he complains of dehumanization in a dehumanized way, and it becomes part of non-involvement to accept a movie like this as "a chronicle of our time."

Just as *Marienbad* was said to be about "time" and/or "memory," *Blow-*

By ***JEROME AGEL,*** *editor-publisher*

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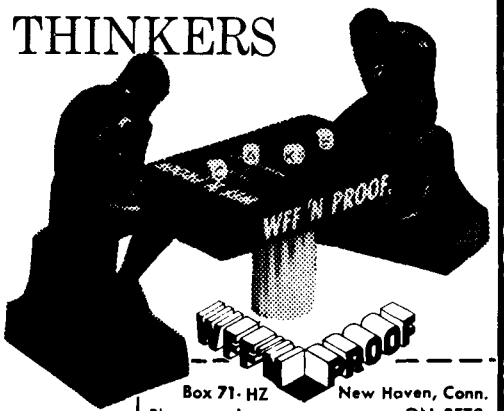

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WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF WFF 'N PROOF

Up is said (by Antonioni and the critics following his lead) to be about "illusion and reality." They seem to think they are really saying something, and something impressive at that, though the same thing can be said about almost any movie. In what sense is a movie "about" an abstract concept? In *Marienbad* and in *Blow-Up*, by reducing it to silliness. It's likely that what Antonioni and the approving critics mean is that high fashion, Mod celebrity, rock and roll, and drugs are part of a sterile or frenetic existence, and they take this to mean that the life represented in the film is not "real" but illusory. What seems to be implicit in the prattle about illusion and reality is the notion that the photographer's life is based on "illusion" and that when he discovers the murder, he is somehow face to face with "reality." Of course this notion that murder is more real than, say, driving in a Rolls Royce convertible, is nonsensical (it's more shocking, though, and when combined with a Rolls Royce it gives a movie a bit of box-office – it's practical). They're not talking about a concept of reality but what used to be called "the real things in life," *i.e.*, the solid values they approve of versus the "false values" of "the young people today."

Antonioni is the kind of thinker who can say that there are "no social or moral judgments in the picture": he is merely showing us the people who have discarded "all discipline," for whom freedom means "marijuana, sexual perversion, anything," and who live in "decadence without any visible future." I'd hate to be around when he's making judgments. And yet in some sense Antonioni is right: because he doesn't *connect* what he's showing to judgment. And that dislocation of sensibility is probably why kids don't notice the moralizing, why they say *Blow-Up* is hip.

The cultural ambience of a film like this becomes mixed with the experience of the film: one critic says Antonioni's "vision" is that "the further we draw away from reality, the closer we get to the truth," another that Antonioni means "we must learn to live with the invisible." All this can sound great to those who don't mind not knowing what it's about, for whom the ineffable seems most important. "It's about the limits of visual experience. The photographer can't go beyond make-believe," a lady lawyer who loved the movie explained to me. "But," I protested, "visual experience is hardly make-believe any more than your practice is – perhaps less." Without pausing for breath she shifted to, "Why does it have to mean anything?" That's the game that's being played at parties this year at Marienbad. They feel they understand *Blow-Up* but when they can't explain it, or why they feel as they do, they use that as the grounds for saying the movie is a work of art. *Blow-Up* is the perfect movie for the kind of people who say, "now that films have become an art form . . ." and don't expect to understand art.

Because the hero is a *photographer* and the blow-up sequence tells a story in pictures, the movie is also said to be about Antonioni's view of himself as an artist (though even his worst enemies could hardly accuse him of "telling stories" in pictures). Possibly it is, but those who see *Blow-Up* as Antonioni's version of $8^1/_2$ – as making a movie about making a movie – seem to value that much more than just making a movie, probably because it puts the film in a class with the self-conscious autobiographical material so many young novelists struggle with (the story that ends with their becoming writers . . .) and is thus easy to mistake for the highest point of the artistic process.

There is the usual post-*Marienbad* arguing about whether the murder is "real" or "hallucinatory." There seems to be an assumption that if a movie can be interpreted as wholly or partially a dream or fantasy, it is more artistic, and I have been hearing that there is no murder, it's all in the photographer's head. But then the movie makes even less sense because there are no indications of anything in his character that relate to such fantasies. Crowther has come up with the marvelously involuted suggestion that as the little teeny-bopper orgy wasn't "real" but just the hero's "juvenile fantasy" the Production Code people shouldn't have thought they were seeing real titbits on the screen.

What is it about the symbolic use of characters and details that impresses so many educated people? It's not very hard to do: almost any detail or person or event in our lives can be pressed into symbolic service, but to what end? I take my dogs for a walk in New York City in January and see examples of "alienation." An old Negress is crooning, "The world out

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here is lonely and cold." A shuffling old man mutters, "Never did and never will, never again and never will." And there's a crazy lady who glowers at my dogs and shouts, "They're not fit to shine my canary's shoes!" Do they tell us anything about a "decaying society"? No, but if you had some banal polemical, social, or moral point to make, you could turn them into cardboard figures marked with arrows. In so doing I think you would diminish their individuality and their range of meaning, but you would probably increase your chances of being acclaimed as a deep thinker.

When journalistic details are used symbolically – and that is how Antonioni uses "swinging" London – the artist does not create a frame of reference that gives meaning to the details; he simply exploits the ready-made symbolic meanings people attach to certain details and leaves us in a profound mess. (The middlebrow moralists think it's profound and the hippies enjoy the mess.) And when he tosses in a theatrical convention like a mimed tennis game without a ball – which connects with the journalistic data only in that it, too, is symbolic – he throws the movie-game away. It becomes ah-sweet-mystery-of-life we-are-all-fools, which, pitched too high for human ears, might seem like great music beyond our grasp. PAULINE KAEL

TELEVISION

Who Runs Educational TV?

The newest sport of the media men is educational television, but who are the players and what are the rules?

The question is important. It could be that $270 million of public money will find its way into the offerings of ETV. The graduated excise tax proposed by the Carnegie Commission on the purchase of new receivers will yield about $104 million and the Commission thinks the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, state and local jurisdictions should add about $166 million a year for the kind of instructional television programs their various projects require. These are substantial amounts, even though they pale beside the $2 billion revenues of commercial broadcasting for which we, as consumers, also pay.

However, the Carnegie Commission's work is done. It has made its recommendations, and other agencies must pursue what this $500,000 study has begun. The search is on for men who will tell broadcasters and academics – and us – how the great educational television machine can switch us on.

There is no doubt that it can. The possibilities of a television service which can educate, inform and entertain beyond the increasingly obvious limits of commercial television have been grasped by the teachers and artists and journalists and viewers of the 104 existing educational stations. They have produced Ionesco for every man, revolutionized the teaching of high-school and college physics, and with Julia Child, made French cooking an American pastime.

The men who will direct educational television will deal with three kinds of program service. First, there is so-called non-commercial television, whose programming philosophy centers on events; then, the related area of artistic television, whose offerings can constitute events in themselves. Finally, there is instructional television, whose name, it often seems, ETV programmers dare speak only with fear and trembling. The reason may be that the first two concerns of ETV, though educational in a broad sense, represent professional broadcasting opportunities – careers – left behind in the thrusts of mass-audience programming by the commercial networks. On the other hand, instructional television at the moment seems to require a Kierkegaardian dedication which has little to do with the savvy so characteristic of the mentors of non-commercial and artistic television.

At the moment, reports *Variety* (January 25), the non-commercial aspects of the Carnegie Commission's report "engage the commercial broadcast leadership with an intensity not evident since the juicy 'Only You, Dick Daring' was making the rounds." For one thing, the Commission's recommendations for non-commercial broadcasting offer a future haven for the frustrated professional talent languishing in the attics of the networks. The non-commercial and artistic aspects of ETV, beefed up by $104 million in programming money each year, are immensely attractive to this talent.

The question is perhaps whether a theatrical director, after some exposure

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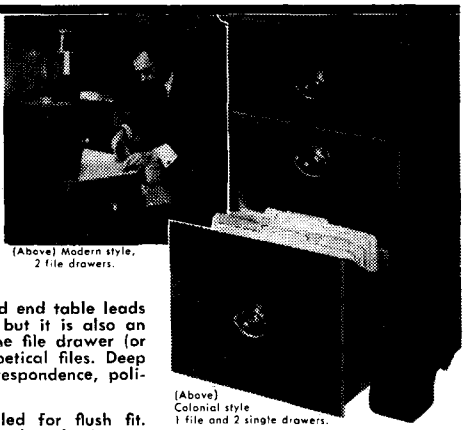

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to the piques of commercial television, can find it in himself to bring forth educational concerns; or whether a network bureaucrat, balked by the manipulations of commercial broadcasting, can find happiness as a teacher.

At the same time, are the practitioners of instructional television ready to abandon their blackboards and move into the bigtime of high-budget, thoroughly researched and marketed teaching programs? If they do, they will have to be willing to pit their concern for educational objectives against the knowledge of audience response and television technique of the emigré professional broadcasters, the new citizens of ETV-land.

Existing educational stations often do instruct daytime audiences in schoolrooms and then, in the evening, entertain viewers at home with programs of public affairs and artistic performance. In many cases the truce between the diverging interests of the producers of daytime and evening programs is maintained by the knowledge that revenues from school boards pay for the evening transmissions. In other cases, where the fiscal balances are not as neat, open warfare is apt to prevail.

The non-commercial ETV game is now engaged in a series of test matches. The philosophy of play is dominated by the force and charm of the Edward R. Murrow Professor of Journalism at Columbia, Fred W. Friendly, who is also advisor on television to the Ford Foundation. Mr. Friendly, who was formerly with the Columbia Broadcasting System, pioneered in the development of responsible, fast-moving, network public affairs television programming. His collaboration with Murrow on "Person to Person" and "See it Now" informed our times and laid down the basic techniques of public affairs television. That work, he says, was a job "I loved and thrived on," but one increasingly complicated by mass-audience and fiscal considerations.

Mr. Friendly sees the commercial networks with all the resources, but with not enough air time at their disposal. He regards ETV as having "all of the drives, all of the air time, all of the needs, all of the involvement, but not enough resources – money or professional – one related to the other, of course." He also thinks networking, instantaneous broadcasting to all parts of the country, is an essential part of television, "but the high cost of long lines also put a burden on the commercial broadcasters . . . because there is not, believe me, an editor in the business who does not know of stories left slightly uncovered . . . because there just wasn't enough budget money to make that long switch to Seattle or to London or to Kalamazoo or to San Francisco, where the story was."

Mr. Friendly became, as he says, a dropout from the world of commercial television as a result of these contradictions. He began, as an advisor to the Ford Foundation, to explore non-commercial ways to do what interested him most: to provide the public with the best and most immediate public affairs service he could design. One result has been a project under consideration by the trustees of Columbia University to use a Ford Foundation grant of $10 million to show ETV audiences a public affairs service the like of which commercial television has been unable to offer, despite the $100 million spent annually on news and public affairs by the three networks. Last fall, when Friendly lured Av Weston away from a position as executive director of CBS News to join the enterprise, it looked as if "Friendlyvision" was about to dominate the future of ETV. Distributed by National Educational Television, the Columbia-Ford-Friendly-Weston programming would rely on a "wisdom network" of top academics to analyze current history with a depth and competence and timeliness never attempted by ABC, NBC and CBS. The emphasis would be on quality, comprehensiveness and centralized, professional editorial control, expressed through microwave lines for assembling and distributing the programs. In short, it would create a high-quality public affairs network to do better what the existing networks do well.

Then, late in 1966, the work of Lewis Freedman became increasingly interesting to the Columbia-Ford group in the ETV leadership. This interest marked a concern for the artistic component of ETV. Mr. Freedman, a former vice president of the New York non-commercial station, Channel 13, is known in the ETV industry for his artistic success in bringing new writers, directors and actors to television. His vehicle was "New York Television Playhouse," a critically acclaimed television drama series, not widely distributed beyond New York City. Recently, in a dispute with the president of Channel 13, John Kiermaier, Mr. Freedman resigned. The dispute centered on the acceptability for broadcast of *The Golden Screw*, a musical by Tom Sankey about the corruption of a pop singer.

The dispute is of some interest within the industry because, if he became associated with the Columbia-Ford group, Freedman, like Weston, would contribute yet another CBS-trained talent in the sense that his two-year experience with ETV was under Kiermaier, himself a CBS public affairs expatriate.

In a recent interview given to WCBS radio in New York, Mr. Freedman was asked whether ETV was going to be an educational or a cultural service. He answered by giving his impressions of the development of ETV:

> "ETV started out a long time ago, ten or fifteen years ago, as instructional television. It was really just an arm of the academic thing. And then its own power broke through and it became a cultural thing. It wasn't just teaching. It was more. It was events. It was the life around itself, and I think that this is the clue to the future of ETV, that it is a force that's going to do things to the community."

If Mr. Freedman is right, and in the muddle of thought surrounding ETV, who is to say he is not, the event cultural joins the event political in shaping the future of educational television.

For educators concerned about ETV, this is not altogether satisfying. Education is not, even in a period of skilled

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

David Schoenbrun *has made several trips to Vietnam and has, for 20 years, covered events in Asia as a television commentator and correspondent.* David Walker *is editor of the Yale University radio and television service.*

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social engineering, a question of doing things to a community. The American educational tradition has had much concern with the way in which individuals change their behavior. Its glory has been this concern for subjects, rather than objects. Out of this attitude has come the reserve in which educators have held commercial media, which in their "treatment" of events, (and in the creation of pseudo-events), have been manipulative of their audiences.

Despite these insights, no spokesman has yet emerged for instructional television, "the academic thing," the third component of ETV. Little attention has been paid to the possibilities of its enrichment. If the promise of non-commercial and artistic ETV have fired the minds of broadcasting professionals, the future of instructional television deserves response from academics.

The really daring programs academics could bring to ETV are not only the presentation of the artistic avant-garde or the instantaneous accessibility of political wisdom, but those which could change us from fans of the television game into students of ourselves and our tradition. To produce programs with this effect is difficult. It requires that a producer do more than project his own tastes and count the audience. He must watch his viewers. He should be as close to them as a teacher is to his class. This is one reason why the centralized networking appropriate to non-commercial or artistic television is of less interest to instructional television.

One of the most compelling images from instructional television is buried in a promotional film produced by National Educational Television. Like the child with a flute who dominates the images in Steichen's *Family of Man*, this picture comes from within the intensity of primary human experience. The NET film raises the question of television's ability to teach music by showing a Tokyo symphony broadcasting to schools. There is a cut away from the orchestra in the studio to a classroom in a village where the children viewing the broadcast have never seen an orchestra perform. One child takes up an imagined violin, tucks it under his chin, and plays. The sound track comes from Tokyo, but the importance is not in the event before those Tokyo cameras and microphones, but in the mind and development of that village child.

The truly revolutionary future of ETV lies in this ability to penetrate the theatre of the mind, there to work a magic. This future is not revolutionary at all if it means only upgrading the fare of the commercial networks. The revolution will exist only if educational television takes seriously its instructional possibilities.

With $270 million in public funds at stake, there is a real concern to find the kind of leadership which will make ETV not only non-commercial and artistic, but truly educational.

DAVID WALKER

COMING

Report from Germany

by Stanley Kauffmann

Correspondence

Seating Mr. Powell

Sirs:

The article of Adam Clayton Powell (January 21) by Andrew Kopkind said that I voted against the Udall motion because I was "backlash conscious."

I do not think my public record justifies that label. In 1964, I publicly stated that I was against Proposition 14 in California which would have repealed the Rumford Fair Housing Act. I voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and for the civil rights bill of 1966, which failed to pass the Senate. I voted "on the record" for the Mathias open occupancy amendment to the 1966 civil rights bill at a time when many other congressmen were playing it safe and voting against such a provision. This record would certainly not indicate that I was "backlash conscious."

My vote against seating Mr. Powell was not motivated by race but made regardless of it. Mr. Powell was under

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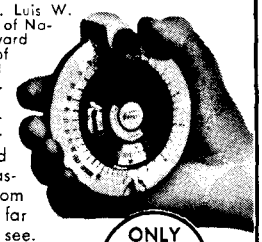

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a criminal contempt citation, and a special committee found evidence that he had apparently seriously misused public funds during the past several years. I thought that the best way to handle the matter was to have Mr. Powell step aside for a prescribed period of five weeks while a committee appointed by the Speaker of the House investigated the allegations against him and recommended appropriate action.

There were no precedents for seating a Member and then placing him in limbo pending an investigation of this kind. I thought we should follow the established precedents of the House. We should have Mr. Powell step aside while a committee of congressmen first investigated his qualifications and then reported its findings to the House with recommendations for future House action. Mr. Powell will have the opportunity to appear before this committee which would be helpful since he did not appear to testify before Congressman Wayne Hays' special committee.

These were my reasons, and not the one Mr. Kopkind ascribes to me.

John V. Tunney, M.C.
38th District, California

The Nader Record

Sirs:

A recent mailing piece of yours has come to my attention, in which you claim that during the past 12 months, you were the first to publish Ralph Nader on auto safety. Just to set the record straight Ralph Nader was first published in *The Nation* on this subject back in the year 1959. We also were the first to publish a portion of his recent book, *Unsafe at Any Speed;* this was in November, 1965.

You are a fine magazine and I am sure you have enough achievements to your credit without having to lay claim to those of others.

James Storrow Jr.,
Publisher
The Nation

The Other Lord Russell

Sirs:

As a student of the early reform period in general, and of Lord John Russell in particular, I read Philip Toynbee's review of *The Amberley Papers* (January 21) with great interest. However, he makes one statement which cannot be substantiated by a study of Whig opinion prior to passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, which initiated the series of Whig reform measures. Mr. Toynbee states:

> "The reforms for which the Whig aristocracy had fought with such vigor, patience and ingenuity had mostly been put into effect; and one effect of those reforms was that the original reformers had lost this privileged position. That is what they had wanted, of course: or that, at any rate, is what they had *thought* they wanted."

The point is, that is *not* what the Whig leaders wanted. As E. L. Woodward indicates in *The Age of Reform, 1815-70,* Lord Grey was willing to advocate a reform measure to quiet popular discontent throughout the country, but he had in mind "a measure which should be a final reckoning between the nation and the aristocracy, and not the first stage in a movement towards democratic government." Even Lord John Russell, the most consistent advocate of reform, was "an enemy to extensive reform because he found that every principle of that sort led to a remodeling of all political institutions which he was far from wishing" (Hansard, quoted in Woodward).

Perhaps the best way to sum the whole thing up is to quote an extreme radical writing in the popular reform paper, the *Poor Man's Guardian* on October 25, 1832:

> "The promoters of the Reform Bill projected it, not with a view to subvert, or even remodel our aristocratic institutions, but to consolidate them by a reinforcement of sub-aristocracy from the middle classes. . . . The only difference between the Whigs and the Tories is this – the Whigs would give the shadow to preserve the substance; the Tories would not give the shadow, because stupid as they are, the millions will not stop at shadows but proceed onward to realities."

Philip A. Ternahan
Central Washington State College
Ellensburg, Washington

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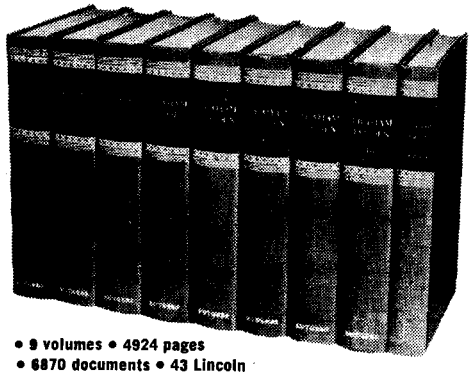

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